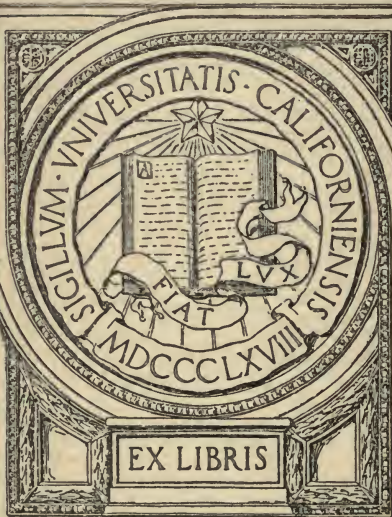




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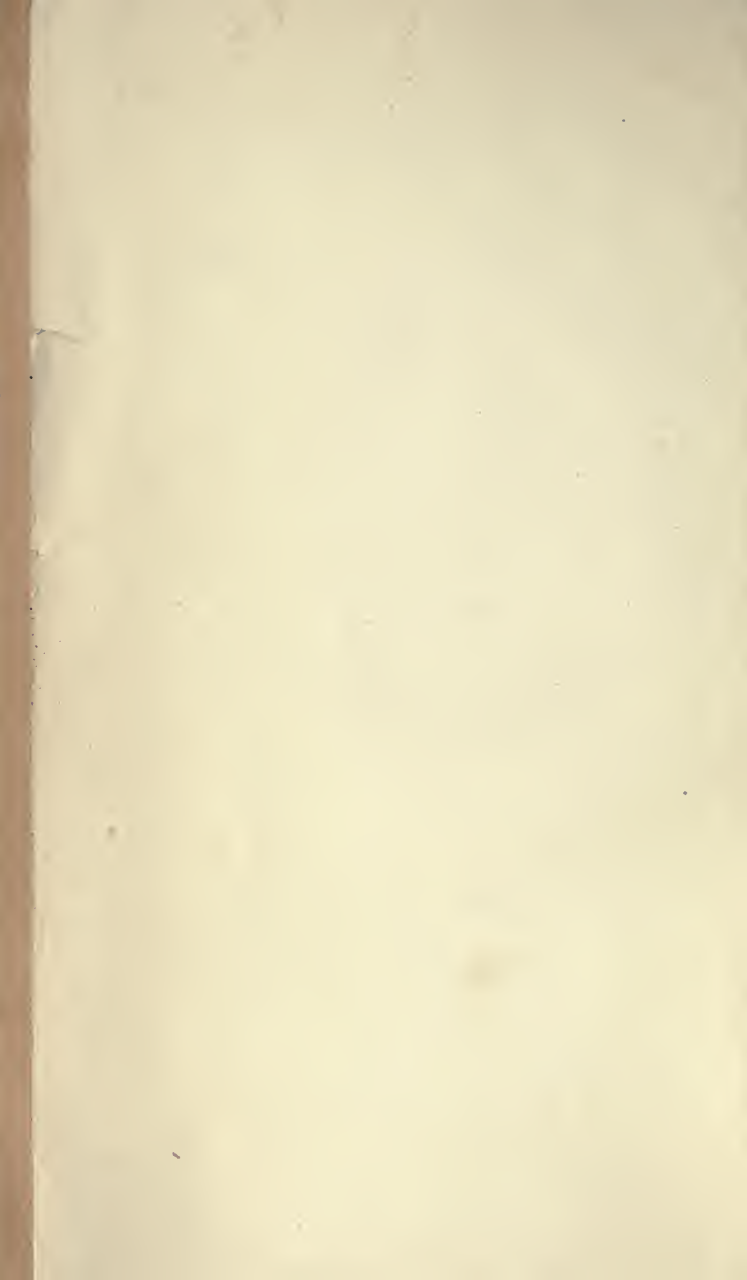
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THE  
LIFE OF  
LOUIS NAPOLEON



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LOUIS NAPOLEON.



THE  
PUBLIC AND PRIVATE HISTORY  
OF *Louis*  
NAPOLEON THE THIRD,  
EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH;

WITH  
Biographical Notices  
OF HIS  
MOST DISTINGUISHED MINISTERS, GENERALS, RELATIVES,  
AND FAVORITES,

AND  
A NARRATIVE  
OF  
THE EVENTS OF THE WAR IN ITALY.

BY  
SAMUEL M. SMUCKER, LL. D.,

AUTHOR OF "COURT AND REIGN OF CATHERINE II.," "HISTORY OF NICHOLAS  
"LIFE OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON," "MEMORABLE SCENES  
IN FRENCH HISTORY," ETC.

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PHILADELPHIA:

G. G. EVANS

439 CHESTNUT STREET.

1860.

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## P R E F A C E.



EVERY age produces its master-spirits; and it is absurd at this late day to deny that Louis Napoleon occupies that position in reference to the present century. It is equally evident that he has already fulfilled his mission; or that he has at least achieved the greater part of the brilliant or the tragical destiny which may have been allotted him. He has revived the defunct empire of the great Corsican; he has inherited his colossal power; and he now sits upon that perilous throne which was formerly purchased by the blood and tears of a continent. There is henceforth little more of consequence which Louis Napoleon can accomplish. He may indeed live in the enjoyment of his imperial state for some time to come; but beside this, the brief record of his future history will very probably comprise but one thing more: that he will either be dethroned, or be assassinated, or will die in his bed with all his blushing honors thick upon him.

In preparing the following work for the press the author has exhausted all the reliable materials which were accessible. These include every thing that is valuable, which the literatures of France and England contain in reference to the subject. Several biogra-

phies of the Emperor of the French have already appeared in this country; yet none of them are complete even as far as they go; none bring the narrative of events down to the present time; all of them speak of the subject of their narratives with the exaggerated ardor and unfair coloring of partisans; and they have been indiscriminate either in their censure or their praise. The present writer has endeavored to avoid these errors; he is not conscious of yielding to the least degree of prejudice in either direction; and he has aimed at elaborating such a history of the public and private career of Louis Napoleon in all its stages, as will describe it precisely as it occurred. The reader himself will judge how far the author has been successful in achieving a correct historical portrait of the most extraordinary man, beyond all comparison, who has flourished during the *middle* epoch of the nineteenth century.

The biography of Napoleon III. does not occupy the whole of the present volume. It had been easy by the use of larger type to have filled all the allotted space with that portion of the work alone; but the writer has endeavored to render it more valuable by the addition of other interesting and useful matter which illustrates the history of the French Emperor. These articles form Part Second of the work.

SAMUEL M. SMUCKER.

PHILADELPHIA, *July*, 1858.

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PUBLIC AND PRIVATE HISTORY  
OF  
NAPOLEON THE THIRD.

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CHAPTER I.

Splendor of the Napoleonic Dynasty—Relative Importance of Louis Napoleon in that Dynasty—His Birth—His supposed Illegitimacy—His Infancy—Interest felt by Napoleon I. in his fate—The Fall of the Emperor—Heroism of Hortense—Her Departure from Paris with her Sons—Her Residence at Malmaison—Death of Josephine—Boyhood of Louis Napoleon—His early Education—Napoleon's return from Elba—Waterloo—Capitulation of Paris—Flight of Hortense and her Sons—Her Residence at Aix—Her Husband demands their eldest Son—Her Residence at Constance—“*Partant pour la Syrie*”—College Studies of Louis Napoleon—Hortense purchases the estate of Arenenberg—Her occasional Residence at Rome—Progress of Louis Napoleon in Military Studies—The Revolution of July, 1830.

THE career of the great Napoleonic dynasty is without a parallel either in ancient or modern times. The universal judgment of mankind has long since decided, that its founder, Napoleon I., was in every respect as great a hero, and probably a greater, than Alexander, Cæsar, or Charlemagne, the three most renowned representatives of ambitious and martial daring in the world's history. It has been conceded that the variety and extent of Napoleon's abilities, both as a commander, a legislator, and a ruler, place him above all his rivals. It is also granted that the splendor of his victories, the extent of his conquests, and the grandeur of his elevation, exceeded theirs in an eminent degree

But in addition to all these elements of superior greatness, it must be admitted that the *family* of Napoleon I. add an unequal attraction and halo to his career. Neither of his illustrious rivals could boast of a wife as graceful and bewitching as Josephine, or as high-born and nobly descended as Maria Louisa. None of them possessed a sister who, like Pauline, deserved the distinction of being called the most beautiful and fascinating woman of her time. None could point to a Caroline who combined beauty, intrepidity, and talent, in so pre-ëminent a measure. None of them could claim brothers as sagacious as Joseph, as gallant as Murat, as romantic as Jerome, as capable as Lucien. None of these rival conquerors could point to as many relatives who were sovereign princes and princesses, and who owed their dizzy eminence to his own powerful arm. And none of them had a successor equal in talent, and in desperate, successful daring, to Napoleon III. It must be admitted, also, that the present Emperor of the French is the second personage in point of consequence, celebrity, and interest, among all that illustrious company who bear the name and share the glory of the Bonapartes; and that his career possesses an importance and splendor, inferior only to that of the great head of the family himself.

CHARLES LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE was born at Paris on the 20th of April, 1808. He was the third and only surviving son of Louis Napoleon, the King of Holland, and Hortense, the daughter of the Empress Josephine, by her first husband, the Viscount de Beauharnois. The infant prince first saw the light at one o'clock, and the Chancellor of the Empire immediately wrote to the Emperor, the Empress, and to Louis Napoleon, informing them of the happy event. At five o'clock in the evening the act of birth was received by the Arch-Chancellor, assisted by his eminence, Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, the minister of state, and secretary of the imperial family. Salvos of artillery announced the happy event along the whole line of the *grande armée*, through-



out the entire extent of the empire, from Hamburg to Genoa, from the Danube to the Atlantic. This was an honor which fell to the lot of only two members of the imperial family, Louis Napoleon, and the King of Rome; for they only were born under the imperial *regime*.

Notwithstanding these and other testimonials of the legitimacy of Louis Napoleon, it has been gravely asserted by authorities of no mean importance, that not a drop of Bonaparte blood flows in his veins; and that he is, in reality, the son of the favorite lover of Hortense, Admiral Verhuel, a Dutch nobleman connected with the court of her husband, while king of Holland. It is well known that the marriage between Louis Bonaparte and Hortense was a compulsory one, brought about by the tears and persuasions of Josephine. Napoleon's Minister of Police, the celebrated Fouché, boldly asserts in his Memoirs, that Hortense was then already pregnant by the Emperor; that the latter first determined to marry her immediately to Duroc; that Duroc positively refused, being engaged to another lady whom he loved; and that then Louis was absolutely commanded to accede to a union with the daughter of Josephine. Subsequent events seemed indeed to give the color of truth to these assertions. From the day of that union, the young couple never pretended to entertain the least affection for each other. From January the 20th, 1802, the date of the marriage, down till September, 1807, the period of their separation, they never resided together more than four months, and that at very remote intervals. Some months after their final separation, and after Hortense had taken up her permanent residence in Paris, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was born. The strongest proof which supports the assertion of the illegitimacy of his birth, is his own peculiarly apathetic Dutch temperament; a temperament such as no other Frenchman ever possessed since the national existence began. To this may be added the total want of any resemblance in his features to the Napoleon family, and their very considerable similarity to those of the courtly and accomplished Dutch Admiral already referred to.

The family of Hortense and Louis Bonaparte consist of the eldest son, called Napoleon Louis Charles, born in 1802, who died in 1807; the second son named Napoleon Louis, who was born in 1804, was baptized by Pope Pius VII., and who died in 1831; and the subject of this history. The family register of the Bonapartes which contained the evidence of the right of the succession, had been deposited in the keeping of the Senate. By the *Plebiscite* of the year 1804, the children of the brothers of Napoleon I., in the absence of his own direct heirs, were entitled to the succession to the throne in the order of their ages. Accordingly, at the period of his birth, Louis Napoleon was regarded as the second heir of the empire, and considerable interest clustered around his person from his earliest years, as one who might perhaps be reserved by the mysterious vicissitudes of fate, for a brilliant or at least a checkered destiny. He was baptized in 1810 by Cardinal Fesch, with great splendor, at Fontainebleau, the Emperor and Maria Louisa themselves acting as sponsors.

His earliest years were spent in his mother's private residence in the Rue Cerutti, now Lafitte, in Paris. She was his first preceptor; and she was well fitted for the task. Hortense was a woman of great intelligence, refinement and taste. Herself educated by the accomplished Madame Campan, she possessed a well-cultivated mind. She had, when quite a girl, distinguished herself in the celebrated school d'Ecouen, by her superior talents for music and drawing. She was learned, witty, and exceedingly attractive in her manners. In a word, she was worthy to be the daughter of Josephine. She reared her two sons with great strictness; and the severity of the training to which she subjected them, was intended both to enlarge and cultivate their minds, as well as to strengthen and develop their bodies.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Hortense was, in all respects, a remarkable woman; beautiful in person, in organization peculiarly delicate, feeble in health, flexible in her principles; yet, when a resolution had once been adopted, she dis-

Napoleon himself took a deep interest in the progress of the boys. He frequently sent for them, while he was breakfasting hastily in his cabinet, in order to converse with them, to ascertain their progress in learning, and to scrutinize the displays or evidences which they might give of intelligence and talent. Not even the subsequent birth of the King of Rome seemed to diminish the intense interest which Napoleon felt in the children of Hortense. His sagacious mind well appreciated the uncertainties of human life, and the possibility of the death of his direct heir. There is ample evidence to prove, that both in prosperity and misfortune, until the end of his marvellous career at St. Helena, the great conqueror regarded the fate of the two sons of Hortense with solicitude, and watched their career with a vigilant eye.

Louis Napoleon continued to reside in Paris with his mother till 1814. During the interval between this period and the separation of his parents, his father had led a retired life at Gratz, in Germany. When the first great disasters of Napo-

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played so much tenacity of purpose as to expose her justly to the charge of obstinacy. In courage, whether active or passive, she was unconquerable. To the unfortunate, she was kind and generous; she was affectionate in her friendships; and, towards her children, tender, gentle, and full of solicitude. But her ruling passion was attachment to Napoleon I., which, in times of great difficulty and danger, overmastered even her maternal feelings, and led her for his sake to set the whole world and her own interests at defiance.

Hortense possessed the most beautiful and luxuriant hair, of a light shining blonde, tinged with an ashen hue, which imparted to it an extraordinary appearance. It was nearly long enough to reach the ground, and when she sat upon a chair to have it dressed, she suffered it to fall over her whole figure like a veil, and trail on all sides upon the floor. Even at such times her two little sons were always present, and often used to amuse themselves by hiding in turn under their mother's hair, and bolting out suddenly to produce a laugh. When she was dressed they generally went down with her to the carriage-door, one of the little fellows carrying her gloves and shawl, the other performing the duties of a page, and bearing her ample train. — *Life of Louis Napoleon*, by J. A. St. John, p. 8.

leon occurred after the Russian expedition, when the mighty Colossus who had so long overawed the world lay prostrate on the earth, the former king of Holland hastened to Paris. When the allied armies drew their vast lines closely around the French capital, Hortense was undismayed by the dangers which surrounded the imperial family, and remained. She actively employed herself in procuring relief for the thousands of wounded French soldiers who crowded the hospitals of Paris. She praised the fortitude of her husband in remaining near the Emperor. No perils nor threats could appal her; and she displayed pre-eminently on this occasion the leading attribute of her character, which was the secret of all her domestic difficulties and troubles—her unconquerable obstinacy. When she beheld Maria Louisa desert with cowardice and pusillanimity the capital of her husband's Empire, thus betraying his dearest interests in the moment of his greatest peril, she gave way to excusable paroxysms of rage, and exclaimed to the Empress, "I am incensed at the weakness which I see. You intend to destroy France and the Emperor. You must be aware that by quitting Paris you neutralize its defence and lose your crown. You make the sacrifice with great resignation!" "You are right," replied the pliant Austrian princess; "but it is not my fault. The council have thus decided." Hortense being asked what she intended to do, answered: "I shall remain at Paris, and will share with the Parisians all their fortunes, be they good or bad." "I wish," said she, energetically, "that I were the mother of the King of Rome; I would inspire all around me with the energy I could exhibit." Speaking to Regnault, the Colonel of the National Guard, she said: "Unfortunately I cannot fill the place of the Empress; but I do not doubt that the Emperor is executing manœuvres which will soon conduct him hither. Paris *must* hold out; and if the National Guard is willing to defend it, tell them that I pledge myself to remain here with my sons."

Such was the heroism and determination of the mother of

the present Emperor of France, and such the noble example which she gave to him, and to the world, of devotion to the interests of her illustrious benefactor.

After all was lost, Hortense was directed by her husband to send him their children in order to convey them to a place of safety, as they might be taken by the enemy as hostages. She accordingly left Paris only two days before the entry of the allies. She commenced her sad journey at nine o'clock at night, taking the road to Glatigny. When she reached Rambouillet, she received an order from her husband to repair with her children to Blois. She considered this requisition as an insult, and exclaimed, with her usual determination and obstinacy, which had long before induced her brother Eugene to call her his Dear Stubborn—"I was going to Blois, but since I am *ordered* to go, I will not go." She crossed the forest of Rambouillet, even at the risk of being captured by the Russians, and reached Navarre, whither her mother Josephine had taken refuge.<sup>1</sup>

At this retreat Hortense was undetermined what to do.

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<sup>1</sup> The following anecdote is told in reference to Prince Louis and the celebrated Madame de Staël: On one occasion, having dazzled and bewildered every one else, she turned to the children of Hortense, resolved apparently to extort admiration even from them. But children form a world by themselves, and require to be subdued by very different arts from those which succeed with grown-up people. She overwhelmed the young princes with questions; she investigated, she made long speeches, and she at length inspired them with intense ennui. "Do you love your uncle?" she inquired. "Very much." "Do you think you shall be as fond of war as he is?" "Yes, I should be, if it did not cause so much evil." "Is it true that your uncle often used to make you repeat the fable which begins with these words—'The reason of the most powerful is always the best?'" "Madame, he often used to make me repeat fables, but not that one oftener than any other." The younger Napoleon, who had a judgment beyond his age, replied to her with great calmness and circumspection, and when the dialogue was over came to Madame Boubers, saying, "That lady is a great question-monger; I wonder, now, if that is what people call genius?"—See *Life of Louis Napoleon*, by J. A. St. John, p. 50.

Once she thought of retiring to Martinique and residing upon the family estate which her mother still possessed in that island. This project however was soon given up. After the allies entered Paris, her elegant hotel was occupied by Swedish officers; but having soon received assurances from the Emperor Alexander that she and her mother should be protected, and their interests provided for, she returned to the capital with her sons, and there awaited the final issue of events. It was stipulated by Napoleon in the act of abdication at Fontainebleau, that Hortense should receive a permanent yearly revenue of four hundred thousand francs, and that she should retain possession of her sons. Through the influence of the Russian monarch, her estate of St. Leu was erected into a duchy, of which she took the title and the dignities.

The government of Louis XVIII., however, did not treat the fallen queen with the same generosity. A portion of the forest of St. Leu was restored by him to its ancient proprietor, the Prince de Condé; the sum of six hundred thousand francs, which had been deposited by Napoleon in the hands of the Receiver-General of Blois, to the credit of herself and Josephine, was given to the Duke d'Angoulême; and the inscription on the national treasury of a million and a half of francs, which Napoleon had guaranteed to Hortense, was repealed.

After the departure of Napoleon to Elba, Hortense resided with her two sons chiefly at Malmaison with her mother. Here the family were frequently visited by the illustrious strangers who were then in Paris, and especially by the Emperor Alexander. It is said that on one occasion, Alexander, Josephine, Prince Eugene, and Hortense, with her two sons, visited together the works of Marly, in the vicinity of Malmaison; that Alexander's dress was on the point of being caught in the machinery, in consequence of his too near approach, and that his life was saved by the sudden movement of Hortense. This act of sincere devotion completely

won the heart of Alexander, who from that moment became much attached to her.

Greater misfortunes now overwhelmed Hortense and her children than had ever before fallen to their lot. On the 29th of May, 1814, her amiable and illustrious mother Josephine expired in her arms. Regretted as this noble woman was by every one with whom she had ever come in contact, none felt the blow so profoundly and acutely as Hortense. Of Josephine alone, of all human beings, could it with truth have been said, as indeed it was frequently asserted, that "she never caused the shedding of a single tear." The grief of Hortense was agonizing beyond description; and the baseness of the government of Louis XVIII. added a still sharper pang to those which already distracted her bosom. Josephine was scarcely laid in her grave when M. Blacas, on the part of the king, demanded the pictures which were at Malmaison as the property of the State; and other indignities were subsequently offered her.

Notwithstanding these reverses, the characteristic generosity of Hortense still marked her conduct in settling the estate of Josephine with Eugene. She reserved to herself the payment of twenty thousand francs in salaries, and gave away a hundred thousand francs in presents to the needy and faithful dependants of the fallen dynasty. In consequence of the reduction of her pecuniary resources from various causes, she now curtailed her style of living; relinquished all the useless expenditures of the days of her splendor; and dismissed her attendants, except three women and the tutor of her sons.

At this memorable and exciting period Louis Napoleon was five years old. He was even then remarkable for the taciturnity of his disposition. Though he spoke very little, he seemed to be reflective and intelligent. His progress in his studies was moderate; neither deficient nor remarkable. His mother had taught him to regard the Emperor Alexander as a friend. Accordingly on one occasion when that monarch was present, Louis Napoleon quietly approached him, and

placed in his hand a little ring which his uncle Eugene had given him. When his mother inquired what he had done, he answered: "I have nothing but the ring which uncle Eugene gave me, to give; and I wanted to give it to the Emperor because he is so good to you." Alexander embraced the child, and retained his present.

The nurse chosen by Hortense for her son, was a lady named Madam Bure. This person was a handsome and pretty brunette, small in stature, but possessing remarkably fine, expressive black eyes. On one occasion, when attending young Louis at the Tuilleries, she attracted the attention of the Emperor Napoleon, and elicited his rather significant compliments. At length he fixed his eyes upon Madam Bure so rudely as to cause her to blush. Napoleon, seeing her confusion, turned away, exclaiming: "That young rogue has a very charming nurse!" Madam Bure was much attached to the family and person of Hortense; she continued in her suite during the lifetime of the ex-queen, and resided with her till her death at Arenemberg.

The chief solace of Hortense at this period was, the position and education of her sons. She was threatened even with the loss of these; for her husband, having retired to Italy, now demanded them from her. She refused to resign them; and a lawsuit was commenced to recover possession of them. A verdict was given in favor of the father; but before it could be executed, Napoleon's sudden return from Elba suspended the proceedings, and again threw France and the whole continent into confusion. On the 20th of March, 1815, he reached his former capital. The ex-queen of Holland was among the first to congratulate him. Her reception at the Tuilleries, contrary to her expectation, was rather cold. Napoleon condemned her for having remained at Paris during the supremacy of the Bourbons. But Hortense had an excuse ready, which was both reasonable and adroit. Said she: "Sire, I had a strong presentiment that you would return; and I waited for you here." The great hero and



stern conqueror at once melted down very perceptibly at this skilful reply.

The day after Napoleon's return, Hortense presented to him her sons. He received them with warm and affectionate feelings. The King of Rome was then a captive and a state-prisoner at Venice, with his mother; and the importance of the children of Hortense became magnified in consequence of that fact. They became the inheritors of the attentions which would have fallen to the lot of the son of Maria Louisa. At the august ceremony of the ratification of the new constitution, in the *Champs de Mai*, they stood by the side of Napoleon's throne; he presented them separately to the deputations of the army and the people; and he regarded them as pledges to confirm the new alliance which on that day had been made between France and the returned Emperor. At Napoleon's request, Hortense wrote to Maria Louisa to urge her to make some movements toward reaching her husband. But all her arguments were thrown away upon the stupid and imbecile nature of the ignoble being, whom fortune had insanely elevated to share the throne of the aspiring hero of a hundred battles. Hortense received no answer to her eloquent and impassioned representations. In the absence of Maria Louisa from the imperial court, Hortense assumed her place, and did the honors. She was consequently beset with an infinite number of applications; and she displayed in this high place the same generosity and benevolence in relieving the miseries of others, which had so eminently characterized her mother in former years, when she occupied the same position, and possessed the same power. At her instance, Napoleon permitted the dowager Duchess of Bourbon, and the Duchess of Orleans, to remain in France, and even bestowed on the former an income of four hundred thousand francs, and one of two hundred thousand on the latter.

At length, on the swift wings of time, the decisive day of Waterloo arrived. On its ensanguined plain the vast empire of Napoleon fell prostrate in the dust, never to be revived

again during his own existence. Six days afterward, Hortense and her sons met their fallen benefactor at Malmaison. The ex-queen did her utmost to console and encourage him; she offered to place her whole fortune at his command, and to share his destiny, whatever it might be. When at last a final separation became necessary, and Napoleon was compelled to commence that journey, which eventually resulted in placing him as a prisoner for the rest of his life in the stern grasp of his foes, the parting was most affecting. The young Louis, especially, — his future, though then unsuspected heir, — clung to his uncle, screamed, and refused to leave him. He was taken away at last by main force; and as Napoleon was then in possession of but slender means, Hortense induced him to accept her diamond necklace, worth eight hundred thousand francs, which she sewed up in a silk ribbon, and concealed in his dress. This jewel Napoleon never parted with; not even amid the deprivation and semi-starvations of St. Helena; and by his will he requested Montholon to restore it to Hortense. The important trust was faithfully executed, and it was returned to its generous donor in an hour of dire necessity. In her old age, Hortense sold it to the King of Bavaria for the trifling annuity of twenty-three thousand francs; which she survived to enjoy only two years.

Shortly after the capitulation of Paris, a strong current of hostile public feeling arose against Napoleon; and Hortense and her sons, who still remained in the capital, were in considerable danger. She succeeded in concealing them safely in a hose establishment on the Boulevard Montmartre, kept by one of her faithful personal friends, Madame Tessier. During the second occupation of Paris by the allied troops, her hotel in the Rue Cerutti was occupied by the Austrian Prince Schwartzenberg; and she hoped that this circumstance would increase her security. She was mistaken. She shared the general odium which now gathered around the Bonaparte family. Even the attachment and esteem of the Emperor Alexander seems to have strangely waned; and he even called

at her hotel to see the Prince Schwartzberg, without ever inquiring after her, or showing her the slightest courtesy. Such are the vicissitudes of fallen greatness!

At length the hostility of her enemies became so great, that the Allies sent her an order to leave Paris within two hours. Accordingly, on the 19th of July, 1815, she passed the barriers in the evening, under the conduct of the Count de Voyna, aide-de-camp to the Prince of Schwartzberg, and chamberlain of the Austrian Emperor. She spent the first night at the Chateau de Bercy. On her route she met with demonstrations sometimes of popular hatred, and sometimes of popular favor. At Dale, the multitude who crowded around her carriage, supposing that she was being led into captivity, were disposed to effect a rescue, and assail her conductor. They were appeased only by assurances from Hortense herself that such was not the fact.

The first design of the fugitive and unfortunate ex-queen was to retire with her sons to an estate which she owned at Pregny, near Geneva. As soon as this purpose became known, the French Minister in Switzerland procured an order from the Swiss government prohibiting her from doing so. In this emergency she directed her course to Aix, hoping there to find repose and protection. But here vexations of another nature awaited her. She was there met by an order from her husband, the Count de Leu, conveyed by the Baron de Zuite, to deliver to his messenger, their eldest son, Napoleon.<sup>1</sup> This demand was based upon the judgment which

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<sup>1</sup> This Baron de Zuite is described by an English writer, as possessing a countenance indicating in the most unmistakable manner, the existence of every evil passion, and the predominance of every detestable vice. At first, Hortense refused positively to entrust her son to his care. She induced him to protract his stay by several clever prettexts, such as that it would be better for him first to form some acquaintance with his charge, before his journey began. During the interval thus obtained, the tutor whom Hortense had sent for, arrived, and accompanied her son, when his departure at last became inevitable.

had been rendered by the Parisian courts on the subject ; and there was no power which could or would prevent the execution of the decree. Accordingly, Hortense was compelled, after many protestations and many tears, to resign her eldest son to the custody and possession of his father. For the first time, the mother and son were separated ; and the parting scene was affecting in the extreme. At length the last embraces were given, the last adieus were uttered ; and the young Napoleon departed for Rome under the conduct of a preceptor chosen for him by his mother, together with his father's confidential agent.

Young Louis Napoleon also felt this separation keenly. He was then seven years of age, and the brothers were much attached to each other. Napoleon the elder, was bold, resolute, and determined in his disposition. Louis was taciturn, timid, mild, yet intelligent and reflective. The one even then was in every sense a Frenchman. The other already seemed to all intents and purposes a Dutchman. There was no rivalry, because there was no similarity between their natures. They loved each other ; and found an appropriate and harmonious counterpart in each other's peculiarities. The younger, especially, was much affected at the loss of his brother's animated and agreeable society ; and he turned with great tenderness to his mother's protection.

But Hortense was not permitted long to remain even at Aix.<sup>1</sup> The Sardinian government was disposed to sympathize

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<sup>1</sup> While at Constance, as well as at Aix, Louis was in the habit of playing with all the boys of the neighborhood, among whom was the miller's son. The father of this lad lived on the bridge which spanned the Rhine, close to the house of Hortense, and the young miller, being older than Louis, often tempted him to go beyond the limits which he had been forbidden to exceed. One day, when he had made his escape, and the abbé at the top of his voice was shouting after him to return, Mdlle. Cochelet, his mother's principal companion, observed him approach, making a most ludicrous figure. He was in his shirt-sleeves, and walking barefoot carelessly through the mud and snow. Had he been able to reach his own room unobserved, it would have been all

with her enemies, and it scrutinized her movements in the most vexatious manner, and eventually compelled her to resume her wanderings. She concluded to repair to Constance, in the Grand Duchy of Baden. She thought she would there be protected, inasmuch as the Grand Duchess, Stephanie de Beauharnois, was her cousin. But to reach this spot she was compelled to obtain permission to pass through Switzerland. After great difficulty this permission was obtained, and Hortense, accompanied by her son Louis Napoleon, his tutor, the Abbé Bertrand, Mademoiselle Cochelet, her reader, and a servant, departed from Aix. She desired to pass the first night on her own estate at Bregny; but even this small boon was denied her by the French and Swiss authorities. At Morat she was even put under temporary arrest. Having arrived at Constance, she was immediately informed that however much the grand duke and duchess might be anxious to serve her, they were under the control of higher powers, and therefore could afford her no protection. She answered to these representations, that her health and the season of the year—it was then November—did not permit her then to continue her journey; and she desired to be permitted to remain only till the ensuing spring.

At this moment of gloom and despair, when thus apparently an outcast from every clime and country in Europe, Hortense received a secret letter from the grand duchess, in which, after having given her encouragement, she added: "Have patience, and do not be uneasy; perhaps all will be right by spring. By that time passions will have calmed, and many things will have been forgotten." Comforted by these

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very well; but he was put considerably out of countenance by being found in such a condition in the street. Upon being questioned how he came to be in that plight, he explained how, while playing at the entrance to the garden, he had seen a family go by, so poor and miserable that it was quite painful to look at them. He therefore took off his shoes, and put them on the feet of one of the children, and gave his coat to another, because, as he said, he happened to have no money to give them.

words, Hortense rented a modest mansion on the beautiful shore of the lake of Constance, and resumed her usual habits of life. There she remained during the year 1816. Her drooping spirits again revived. She was visited by many illustrious personages in her obscure retirement. Here she enjoyed for a time the society of her brother Eugene. The Austrian prime-minister, Prince Metternich, offered her a more agreeable residence at Bregenz on the same lake, which, however she declined. Her health became restored, and she again resembled the graceful, accomplished, and attractive woman who had once shone as one of the brightest ornaments of the brilliant court of St. Cloud. She indulged in her usual amusements ; and, inspired by the romantic scenery which surrounded her, she gratified her taste for literary and musical composition. It was here that she composed, among many other songs of great taste and beauty, the celebrated national French air, *Partant pour la Syrie*, which to this day remains, after the celebrated Marseilles Hymn, the nation's favorite.

In the following spring, Hortense and her son visited Prince Eugene at Berg, a country seat of his father-in-law, the King of Bavaria, where she was received with the respect and affection which were due her. She passed the summer with her son at the baths of Geiss, among the mountains of Appenzell, and derived great benefit from their medicinal qualities. In the fall of 1816 she returned to Constance, and here devoted the whole of her attention to the education of her son. She herself taught him drawing and dancing. On each Saturday she spent the whole day in reviewing the studies of the week, and marking and commending his progress. At this period Louis was not remarkable for intellectual improvement. His physical development seemed now to predominate, and he became restless, active, and almost ungovernable. The gentle cares of the Abbé Bertrand were now useless, and Hortense provided for him another and more resolute tutor, M. Lebos, from the Normal School at Paris. Yet, at this period, the developing impulses of his nature were generous, noble, and

manly, and gave promise of a more vigorous and active manhood than his more youthful years appeared to have prognosticated. His active habits served to develop his physical energies. His features gained in expressiveness what they lost in regularity. They lost something of the beauty of his supposed father, the Dutch nobleman, but they displayed more of the intelligence of Hortense.

Thus the life of the persecuted ex-queen was flowing for a brief interval tranquilly along, when once more, in the beginning of 1817, the hostility of her enemies drove her and her son from their chosen retreat. The Grand Duke of Baden received orders from the Allies to send her out of his dominions. Her thoughts now recurred to the generous treatment which she had received in the neighboring district of Thurgovia; and in her rides through this canton she had often admired the picturesque beauty of an estate and manor known by the name of Arenenberg. She now proposed to purchase it, and to obtain permission from the authorities of the canton to reside there. She was successful in both applications. Arenenberg became her home, at the cost of sixty thousand francs. There she spent many happy years, and there at last she died.

In 1818 a partial reconciliation happily took place between Hortense and her husband, and the latter permitted her to enjoy the society of her eldest son for several months. After an absence of three years the brothers again met. Louis Napoleon was now seventeen years of age, and had finished his studies in the college of Augsburg. In 1824 Prince Eugene died, and in 1825 his father-in-law, the best surviving friend of Hortense, King Maximilian, of Bavaria, followed him to the grave. It was after these sad events that she determined to divide her time between Arenenberg and Rome, the residence of her husband. The winters she spent in the capital of the Christian world; the summers were passed at her delightful retreat in Switzerland. At Rome she became the centre of the most brilliant society, for there

she was surrounded not only by the polished and illustrious princes of the church, but she also met her accomplished and fascinating relative, Pauline Bonaparte, who had married the Prince Borghese. Hortense resided with this lady at her Villa Paolina, where she was constantly addressed with the title, and served with the ceremonial, of loyalty. Her chief wealth, and her most precious relics, were collected together at Arenenberg. It was here that she cherished and preserved, among many other sad and affecting souvenirs of those unparalleled days of glory, felicity, and splendor which had forever passed away, the beautiful miniature of the King of Rome, which, on the bleak and rocky summit of St. Helena, had received the last kiss of the expiring Emperor.<sup>1</sup>

At this period Louis Napoleon commenced his military studies and exercises, in connection with a Baden regiment garrisoned in Constance. He now also devoted his attention to the study of physics and chemistry, under the direction of a learned Frenchman named Giestard. He was afterward admitted into the camp of Thun, in the canton of Berne, where he studied engineering and artillery-practice under Colonel Dufour, an old hero of the Grand Armée. His personal activity and martial bearing made the young prince a great favorite in the camp. He excelled in all martial exercises and manœuvres. He seemed to be fond of fatigue, and became particularly partial to artillery practice and science. When the imbecile Bourbons fell, in the revolution of July, 1830, Louis Napoleon cherished the enthusiastic hope that he might at last be permitted to return to his native land. In this expectation he was disappointed; although Louis Philippe sent to Hortense assurances of his esteem and protection; and intimated to her that the future might perhaps enable him to gratify his wishes towards her more effectually than the existing posture of affairs then permitted.

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<sup>1</sup> Vide *Mémoires sur la Reine Hortense et la Famille Impériale par M<sup>lle</sup>. Cochelet, Lectrice de la Reine (Mad. Parquin)*, Vol. III., p. 162.



## CHAPTER II.

Outbreak of the Revolution in Italy—Secret Conclave of the Bonapartes in Rome—Louis Napoleon commanded to withdraw from the Papal Capital—He joins the Revolutionists—Death of his elder brother at Faenza—His own Sickness—His arrival at Paris with his Mother—Their reception by Louis Philippe—Compelled to retire to England—Their removal to Arenenberg in Switzerland—The Polish Revolution—Death of the Duke of Reichstadt—Louis Napoleon complimented by the Polish Refugees—His private studies at Arenenberg—Publishes his *Reveries Politiques*—Nature and Contents of this Work—He Publishes his *Considerationes Politiques et Militaires sur la Suisse*—Character of this Work—Compliments of the Helvetic Diet—Louis Napoleon invited to marry the Queen of Portugal—His reasons for refusing to do so.

THE revolution of 1830 in France rekindled the fierce flames of popular discontent in Italy. The tyranny of Austria was then, as it is now, both a curse and a disgrace to the land of the ancient conquerors of the world; and there were not wanting men among their degenerate descendants, who possessed the courage to strike a deadly blow at the despot's power.

Louis Napoleon spent the winter of 1830 in Rome with his mother. He was surrounded by revolutionary influences and elements, and became imbued with their spirit. He identified himself with the principles and measures of the patriots. Excluded by the jealousy and caution of Louis Philippe from taking any share, however humble, in the movements which were progressing in his native country, he turned with greater sympathy to the similar revolutionary and popular changes which were taking place in Italy. He became the object of much interest to the progressive party; and this circumstance excited at once the distrust of the Papal government. Another incident served to increase the suspicion with which he was now regarded. In December,

1830, a portion of the Bonaparte family had held a secret conclave at Rome. It was composed of Madame Letitia, the mother of the ex-Emperor, Cardinal Fesch, Jerome Bonaparte, Hortense, and her two sons, the elder of whom, having married his cousin, the second daughter of Joseph Bonaparte, resided at Florence. It could not be doubted that the object of this secret assemblage of the fallen dynasty bore some reference to the political events which were then transpiring. The Papal government immediately requested, through Cardinal Fesch, that Louis Napoleon should withdraw from Rome. The request was not complied with. The government then sent a guard of fifty men to the residence of the prince, for the purpose of conducting him by force to the frontiers. He escaped their grasp, and fled to Florence. Scarcely had he disappeared when the insurrection of the Romagna burst forth. The main object of this movement was to overthrow the detested power of Austria in Italy, and to restore the national unity so long dissevered and broken. Louis Napoleon and his elder brother entered with enthusiasm into this movement. Tri-colored flags waved above the battlements of Ferrara, Urbino, and several other Italian cities. Louis Napoleon was active in forming moving columns, and in organizing the revolutionary efforts. Nor were the endeavors of the insurgents fruitless of results. They defeated the Papal troops on several occasions; and high hopes began to be entertained that something might yet be won for Italian liberty. The Vatican was filled with terror, and the worst consequences were apprehended. At this crisis, Hortense was constrained to leave Rome and repair to Florence, the head-quarters of her sons, whose influence among the revolutionists, young as they were, was almost unbounded. Hortense herself was not opposed to the share which her sons took in these transactions; but her husband, Cardinal Fesch, and Jerome Bonaparte, were highly incensed at it, and demanded of them that they should abandon a career which they deemed pregnant with the most injurious consequences, not only to themselves, but to the whole family. Their re-

presentations were useless, and the brothers remained unmoved. They took part in an action fought at Bologna between the Papal troops and the insurgents, and highly distinguished themselves by their intrepidity. But the Austrians came to the relief of the government forces, and the insurgents were at length compelled to retire to Forli. As is usually the case, treachery, more fatal than the Austrian bayonets, infected the camp. The two princes were deprived of their commands, and disunion began to prevail. The ultimate result was, that the revolution became a total failure, and the chief care of those who had participated in it was to escape, if possible, the grasp of the offended and terrified, but now triumphant authorities.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> It is very clear that the presence of the young Napoleon was looked upon by the Papal government as the chief support of the insurrection. Jerome saw the Pope, a consultation was held, and an officer, M. de Stœlting, was despatched to the republican camp, authorized by His Holiness to enter into a parley with the insurgents, to inquire what they wanted, and to promise compliance with their wishes. Stœlting saw the elder Prince Napoleon, and desired him to draw up a statement of the demands and complaints of the army. He consulted its chiefs, and with their authority delivered to the Pope's envoy a summary of the reforms for which the people asked.

Whatever may have been their secret intentions, it seems probable that the pertinacious interference of the effete and timid members of the Bonaparte family at length produced its effect. The provisional government of Bologna was seized with timidity, and refused to attempt the storming of Rome. It then dispatched General Sercognani with fresh troops, to replace the young Napoleons.

During the progress of this revolution, the father of the young princes behaved with singular folly and absurdity. He compelled Hortense to write to General Armandi, who commanded the revolutionists, and who had been the tutor of the elder of the young men, requesting him to dismiss them from the camp. He refused to send his sons any assistance, not even the money necessary for their comfort and equipment. His narrow policy may be said to have caused the misery of both, and perhaps the death of one of them. He also wrote to them in person, desiring them instantly to abandon the revolutionary standard.

Other and greater misfortunes now overwhelmed the unhappy Hortense and her sons. The elder of them, when on the retreat to Forli, was attacked with the small-pox, or as others have asserted, by an internal inflammation of some kind, and expired on the 27th of March, 1831, at Faenza. Hortense had received information of his illness, and she immediately started from Florence to his relief. She arrived too late, and the young Napoleon expired in the arms of his brother. The latter was himself attacked with the small-pox at Ancona. The care of his mother, who reached him when in rapid retreat at Pesaro, rescued him from the fate of his brother. On leaving Florence she had provided a passport, under the name of an English lady travelling with her two sons. She still used this passport, and represented one of the young insurgent chiefs, the Marquis Zappi, as her son. The Austrians had set a price upon the head of the surviving Napoleon. Strict search was made for him, but in vain. A report prevailed that he had escaped in a small vessel to Malta, and this delusion served to relax the severity of the efforts made to capture him. Thus favored by fortune, Hortense and her son succeeded in evading the Austrian troops, embarked in a vessel for Cannes, and safely arrived at that port; the same which sixteen years before had witnessed the bold and desperate return of the great Napoleon from Elba. They resolved to travel directly to Paris, and throw themselves upon the generosity of Louis Philippe.

Having arrived, at length, at Paris, the first act of Louis Napoleon was to address a respectful letter to the king, asking permission to enter the French army as a private soldier. This step Hortense, less enthusiastic than her son, did not approve. She took up her residence at the hotel de Holland, and immediately informed Louis Philippe of her arrival. It is said that her letter communicating this fact arrived at the palace just as Sebastiani, the sagacious minister of the king for Foreign Affairs, informed the Council that she had landed at Malta. Louis Philippe sent Casimir Perin, the President of the Coun-

cil, to wait upon her. She excused herself for violating the law which banished the family of Napoleon from the French territory, and confidently claimed the mercy of the sovereign. Louis Philippe granted her an audience, during which he said to her: "I know what exile is, and it is not my fault, if yours has not already terminated." She was also permitted to see the queen and Madame Adelaide, the king's sister. Her presence in Paris was still a secret to the public, when the 5th of May arrived, the anniversary of the Emperor Napoleon's death. On that day the Parisians were in the habit of covering the base of the column in the *Place Vendome* with evergreens; which, therefore, seemed dedicated to the memory of Napoleon. Hortense and her son had now been twelve days in Paris, and by this time the news became known that they were present. The multitude who surrounded the triumphal column rushed, as if by a common impulse, to the hotel where the ex-queen and the prince were sojourning, and filled the air with their shouts. Marshal Lobau, commander of the National Guards, dispersed them by the novel means of fire-engines, which effectually quenched the intensity of their enthusiasm by immense discharges of water instead of grape-shot.

But this incident, though it terminated so comically, unhappily excited the fears and jealousy of the king. Hortense was given to understand that she could not longer remain in the French territories. Accordingly, she once more resumed her pilgrimage, and on the 10th of May embarked, at Calais, for England.<sup>1</sup> Her son accompanied her, for he too had

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<sup>1</sup> A day or two before her departure from Paris, Hortense had attended mass at the church of St. Roche, in the rue St. Honoré, where by accident she sat next to M. Lamartine, who was pointed out to her by the Marchese Zappi. She had always admired Lamartine's writings, and now she extended her admiration to the man. What would she have said could she have foreseen that he would one day be her son's competitor for the presidentship of the French Republic; that the admission of the Bonaparte family into France would be in part owing to his re-

become personally obnoxious to the reigning family. He had uttered sentiments, in the letter which he had addressed to the king, which indicated a superior degree of intelligence and determination, — acknowledging the right of Louis Philippe, as the *representative* of a great nation, to occupy the throne to which they had invited him. He was too aspiring, and too dangerous, to be permitted to remain in France.

In England, and especially at Woburn Abbey, the seat of the Duke of Bedford, the ex-queen and her son were treated with great consideration. They were honored by men of all parties and factions. The adroit Talleyrand did his utmost to worm himself into the intended aims and purposes of Hortense, but her self-possession and her superior sagacity completely foiled him. While, perhaps, herself uncertain what course to take, the authorities of the canton of Thurgovia presented her son with the rights of citizenship. This was the district in which her estate of Arenenberg was situated. The document which conferred upon the young prince this honor recited how the canton was under great obligations to the duchess of St. Leu for many favors; and that the said honor was bestowed in consideration of those favors. It bore date the 30th of April, 1832. To this grateful testimonial of esteem the prince replied in appropriate terms. He thanked them for the honor of being made "the citizen of a free nation," expressed the pleasure which his mother derived from their courtesy, and tendered his best wishes for the prosperity of the canton. He also sent them, as further testimonials of his esteem, two six-pounders, with complete trains and equipage; and he also founded a free school in the village of Sallenstein. In consequence of the state of kindly

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missness; and that he would have to repent in sackcloth and ashes all the days of his life for this act of negligence and weakness?

On the 6th of May they left Paris, and proceeded to Chantilly. In four days they reached Calais, crossed the Channel, and were on their way to London. Here Louis Napoleon was attacked by the jaundice, and looked as yellow as a guinea.

feeling expressed by the Swiss toward her and her son, Hortense now determined to take up her permanent residence at Arenenberg. She proposed to pass through Belgium and Brussels; but this was forbidden her, as her presence in the Belgian capital, with her son, might lead to serious consequences. The Belgians might, perhaps, elect the prince to their then vacant throne, and results of the most important nature might ensue. The whole *corps diplomatique* in London assembled together, and the most earnest representations were made against granting her a passport through France. At length, in August, Hortense left England, and landed at Calais with her son. Avoiding Paris and Brussels, in accordance with the requisitions of Louis Philippe, she visited the tomb of her mother, Josephine, at Ruel, passed through Chantilly and other cherished and familiar places, and finally reached Arenenberg in safety.<sup>1</sup>

On his return to Switzerland Louis Napoleon was honored by a deputation of Poles sent from Warsaw, who proposed to place him at the head of their revolutionary movements,

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<sup>1</sup> On arriving at Chantilly, she visited the palace of the Condés and the magnificent forest which, during the era of the Empire, had been her own private property. It was extremely natural that Hortense should wish to know whether or not she was still remembered in the region where she had once been so powerful. She inquired of the man who conducted them through Chantilly and its vicinity, to whom those woods formerly belonged. He replied, to Queen Hortense, and added, that for many years she was supposed to roam about the forest in disguise, but that for some time people had ceased to talk of her. "Ah! without doubt, she is dead," replied the queen; and the idea pleased her—finding that she was forgotten by the world.

After wandering about, reviving sad reminiscences at every step, Hortense and her son proceeded to St. Denis, and afterwards through a number of other places, in many, if not in most, of which she had seen happier days. In company with his mother Louis Napoleon visited Ermenonville and Morfontaine, where she had once resided with her mother Josephine. A rickety old boat took them over, at Ermenonville, to the Isle of Popiars, consecrated to the memory of Rousseau, where she and her son inscribed their names upon his tomb.

with an ultimate prospect of the possession of the throne of the Jagellons. The young prince was at this time twenty-three years of age. The letter which the deputation bore was signed by many of the most distinguished patriots of the nation, including General Kniazewicz, and Count Plater. The prince enthusiastically accepted the high mission; and fearing the more cautious opposition of his mother, he left Arenenberg without her knowledge or permission, and started for the Polish frontier. But, happily for his future destiny, ere he had progressed far upon his journey the news of the fall of Warsaw on the 7th of September, put an end to his progress and restored him to his home.

When the melancholy death of the Duke of Reichstadt took place at Vienna, in July, 1832, the importance of Louis Napoleon in the great system of European politics became immensely magnified. He became thenceforth the direct and recognized heir of the Napoleonic dynasty. The thoughtful solicitude of all the sovereigns of Europe now clustered around the obscure estate and manor of Arenenberg. It is well known that Talleyrand, on behalf of Louis Philippe, sent a secret emissary to reside permanently near Arenenberg, for the purpose of watching the movements of the prince. The castle was secretly surrounded by invisible but vigilant agents of many anxious and uneasy kings, who intently yet unobtrusively scrutinized his conduct. But their labors led to no satisfactory results. The truth was that the prince now led a retired life, engaged in literary pursuits. He did not forget that he was the direct heir of the claims of the great Napoleon, inasmuch as Joseph Bonaparte had no male children, and Lucien Bonaparte and his family had been expressly excluded from the succession by the will of the Emperor himself, and by the provisions of the Plebiscite; but Louis Napoleon felt convinced that the time of action had not yet arrived. It would have been well for his fame and fortune had he entertained the same opinion on several important occasions of his subsequent career. Although his thoughts at this period



were chiefly engaged in studious labors, he was not forgotten by the chivalrous people who had once invited him to ascend their vacant throne. He was constantly visited by crowds of Polish refugees, and his purse was always open to relieve their necessities. He sent to the Polish committee at Berne a beautiful and valuable casket, which Napoleon himself had once possessed, in order that a lottery might be organized to relieve the wants of many of the exiles. He received in return the following expressive reply: "Five hundred Polish refugees, grateful for his generous solicitude, have the honor to present their sentiments of the most profound regard to the illustrious descendant of the Emperor Napoleon, August 6th, 1833."

Nor were the various studies in which Louis Napoleon had already engaged fruitless in cultivating his intellectual powers, in storing his mind with valuable knowledge, and in enabling him to systematize and settle his own views on the great themes which appertain to the science of government. He now employed his leisure in the composition of his "*Reveries Politiques*," which work was published in 1832. This production, emanating from a young man of twenty-four years of age, indicates more than ordinary ability. It displays an originality of thought and powers of generalization which very much exceed the usual range of juvenile capacity. The author clearly describes and characterizes the several forms of government which had successively prevailed in France, and the relation which they severally bore to the development of liberty. He very truly says of the reign of Louis Philippe, that while it indicated the sovereignty of the people, and promoted the reign of merit, its passions were fear, egotism, and meanness. The whole reign of Louis Philippe was overshadowed and tarnished by a craven fear of the powers and movements of the people; by a constant endeavor to magnify and glorify the Orleans dynasty in every possible way; and by despicable and greedy avarice of money, of dignities, of alliances, and of emoluments.

In this work, Louis Napoleon also asserts very positively the great ideas which he has since endeavored to realize in his own administration. "A day will come," says he, "when virtue shall triumph over intrigue, when merit shall have more power than prejudice, when glory shall crown liberty." He declares that this noble end can only be accomplished by uniting the two popular causes, that of the people, with that of him who came forth from among the people and ascended to unparalleled heights of power and glory through their means,—the Emperor Napoleon. He contends that with this great name the people never associate the ideas of terror, of imbecility, or of insecurity; and he urges on the French nation their obligation to be grateful to him who, springing from the ranks of the people, did everything for them and through them. He asserts that if they ever become free, it is to Napoleon—his genius, his imperishable spirit, and his undying glory that they will owe it. "Do not reproach him for his dictatorship, his despotism, if you will," says he. "The Emperor was leading us to liberty, as the ploughshare cuts the furrows to prepare the fertility of the soil. Equality before the laws, the superiority of merit, the prosperity of commerce and industry, and the emancipation of nations,—these are the glorious consummations to which he was conducting us." Many sentiments are uttered in this book, which, though possessing neither originality nor intellectual merit, are yet important, as having been declared by the man who afterward ascended to such a brilliant eminence. Thus he asserts that the first wants of a country are liberty, stability, the supremacy of merit, and the general diffusion of physical comfort among the people; that the best government is that in which every abuse of power can always be corrected; and where the head of the government can be changed at any time without social disorder, and without the effusion of blood. How widely Louis Napoleon has himself wandered from these admirable principles, in the later and more decisive events of his career every intelligent reader can readily judge.

Unhappily some of these *Reveries Politiques* remain to this day a silent, yet potent reproof of the monarchical and despotic tendencies of their author. Yet it is not probable nor possible that he intended to execute all of them, should he ever attain to the possession of power. They accomplished the purpose for which they were written; which evidently was to win the confidence of the French nation, to indicate that he was employing his leisure in intellectual pursuits, and to prove to the world that he possessed the power and capacity to *write and think*.

The same work contains the project of a Constitution, in which some remarkable ideas are set forth. Its fundamental principle is universal suffrage. It contains a declaration of the rights of man, which reiterates the same great doctrines which were put forth in the declaration proclaimed in 1789, when the billows of the first great revolution began to surge and roll over France. The legislative power was to be delegated to two assemblies, the Tribunate and the Senate. The imperial dignity was to be hereditary; although at each new accession to the throne, the sanction of the people, and their free approbation, were to be essential to the validity of the claim to the possession of the supreme power. The author asserts, also, that harmony between the governor and the governed can only be maintained by one of two means, either where the people allow themselves to be ruled by the absolute will of one; or where the sovereign rules according to the will of all. The utter absurdity of the latter proposition must strike every reflecting mind; for where the will of the nation becomes the absolute guide of the ruler, he cannot be said, in any sense, to *rule*; but he is in reality the servant and slave of the popular behest, which thus becomes the supreme and despotic master in the State. The *professed* aim of this Constitution was to suggest the means of securing internal order and liberty by the strengthening of authority. Its real effect would have been, as it actually has become in its present developed and realized state, to establish order and to

strengthen despotism, by the curtailment and suppression of liberty; for it must be conceded that the Constitution proposed by Louis Napoleon, in 1832, has been retained by him in its leading ideas through all his subsequent career, until it became in a great measure realized by the memorable events of 1852. He deserves the merit of consistency; for those provisions of this constitution which promote liberty, he obeyed and realized during the earlier and more dependent period of his career; those which commend despotic measures he has followed out and executed afterward, when he possessed the power so to do. This Constitution is double-faced; and so Louis Napoleon has himself pre-eminently been throughout his whole career.

A second work issued from the pen of our princely author in 1833. This was his "*Considerationes Politiques et Militaires sur la Suisse.*" In this production a marked improvement was perceptible in the writer's powers of thought and composition. It attracted considerable attention both among diplomatic circles throughout Europe, and also among military men. It discusses with discrimination and ability all the various Constitutions of the Cantons, their merits and provisions; and it also examines the military position, interests and necessities of the Swiss. It designates, in this connection, a line and method of defence which, if adopted and energetically executed by the Helvetic Diet, would render the territories and the homes of the bold mountaineers impregnable to any foreign foe. The style of the work is elevated and scholarlike, and would have made a mark in the literature of the day, independently of the relations and prospects of the writer. It was referred to in the sessions of the Diet as a remarkable work; and as a reward for his labors, and for his interest in the prosperity of the Swiss, that body unanimously decreed to him the honorable epithet of citizen of the Swiss Republic. This was a token of esteem which had very rarely been bestowed. Two instances of the kind only are on record, and these involve names with which Louis

Napoleon need not blush to have been associated. They were Marshal Ney, and Prince Metternich. In June, 1834, the Diet again expressed their esteem for the person and character of the Prince, by conferring upon him the rank of captain of artillery in the Bernese regiment. In truth he became exceedingly popular among his adopted countrymen; nor did he neglect any means whereby he might win their esteem. He attended the great gymnastic festivals which are held in many of the Cantons, and took part in their manly combats. He frequently bore away the prizes which were awarded to superior skill in the use of fire-arms, in horsemanship, in the management of the spear and lance, and even in aquatic exercises.

At this period a gleam of brighter fortunes seemed to dawn upon the dark horizon of his career. His European importance had then become so great, that when the constitutional party triumphed in Portugal, in 1835, and the young and beautiful Donna Maria was elevated to the throne, the leading statesmen of that country proposed Louis Napoleon to the queen as an appropriate match for her. She herself acquiesced in the proposition; but the Prince declined it. He assigned two reasons for this course of conduct, both of which were satisfactory and honorable. The first was, that such an alliance might, and probably would, separate his fate and interests from those of France. The second was, that his acceptance of the offer would interfere with the wishes and aspirations of his cousin, the Duke of Leuchtenberg, the son of Prince Eugene, who desired the alliance himself.

In consequence of this refusal, the Queen of Portugal married the Duke of Leuchtenberg. That prince died very soon after his marriage; and again the same proposition was made to Louis Napoleon. Again the latter declined it, and published the following letter in vindication of his motives and his conduct:

“Several journals have made known the intelligence of my departure for Portugal, as a pretender to the hand of Queen

Donna Maria. However flattering for me may be the idea of a union with a young queen, beautiful and virtuous, widow of a cousin whom I tenderly loved, still it is my duty to refute such a report, as no step of mine, that I am aware of, could have furnished any grounds for announcing it.

“I may even add that, notwithstanding the strong interest attached to the destinies of a people who have just recovered their independence, I would refuse the honor of sharing the throne of Portugal, if by any chance I should be offered such an exalted position.

“The noble conduct of my father, who abdicated in 1810, because he could not reconcile the interests of France with those of Holland, has not escaped my recollection.

“My father has proved to me, by his own example, how much to be preferred my country is to a seat on a foreign throne. I feel, in effect, that, habituated from my childhood to love my country above all things, I can prefer nothing to the interests of France. Convinced that the great name which I bear will not be always regarded by my countrymen as a ground for exclusion, reminding them as it does of fifteen years of glory, I wait calmly, in a free and hospitable country, until the people recall those exiles that were banished in 1815 by twelve hundred thousand foreigners. This hope of one day serving France, as a citizen and as a soldier, strengthens and consoles me in my retirement, and, in my eyes, is worth all the thrones in the world.”<sup>1</sup>

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*See Histoire de Napoleon III., par Paul Lacroix, vol. i., p. 210.*

## CHAPTER III.

Pursuits and Studies of Louis Napoleon at Arenenberg — His Manual of Artillery — Character of that Work — He begins to plot — The *Escapade* of Strasburg — State of Public Feeling in France at that Period — Unpopularity of Louis Philippe — Preparations for the Plot at Arenenberg — The Hunting-Party — The Prince arrives at Baden-Baden — He meets Madame Gordon — Her Beauty and Talents — Her former History — She becomes a Devotee to the Prince — His Arrival at Strasburg — Meeting of the Conspirators — Suspicions aroused and allayed — Six o'clock arrives — Colonel Vaudrey — Submission of the Fourth Regiment — General Voirol — The Prince's Identity denied — Total and rapid Failure of the Conspiracy — Arrest of the Conspirators — Examination and Responses of Louis Napoleon.

LOUIS NAPOLEON continued to pass a retired and unobtrusive existence amid the congenial shades of Arenenberg. His restless and inquiring mind felt the constant necessity of employment, and his habits at this period indicated that he both anticipated and prepared himself for a future career of adventure and activity. Ambition now seemed to become the predominant passion within him; and his time was chiefly spent in intellectual pursuits and physical exercises. He lodged, not within the castle itself, which the cultivated and queenly Hortense had fitted up and adorned with every possible appliance of luxury and enjoyment, but in a small and rude pavilion near its massive walls, and beneath the shadows of the surrounding forest. Here his frugal table was spread. His pursuits were laborious, and his habits partook of the rigor of military life. Neither a carpet nor an arm-chair adorned his simple abode; but it was garnished with books, charts, philosophical instruments, and fire-arms of every description. At break of morn the prince leaped into his saddle, and usually rode several leagues before he returned to breakfast. The rest of the day was spent in his studies, his

writings, and his practice with the sword, the rifle, and the lance. Both his studies and amusements now assumed a military turn; and in December, 1835, he completed and published his "Manual of Artillery, for the Use of Artillery-Officers of the Helvetic Republic."

This third production of Louis Napoleon evinces the progress which he had made in intellectual and professional training. The volume contains everything of importance which can be said in reference to the subject of Artillery, both field, siege, and stationary. It contains an introduction which presents a comprehensive historical survey of the invention and progress of cannon. The body of the work may be divided into three general departments. The first treats of field-artillery; the second, of siege and stationary artillery; the third, of the manufactories and constructions which are necessarily connected with their use. The work also discusses the service and management of cannon, both upon the march and in action; and it enters into scientific researches in reference to the theory of initial velocities, and the elevation, pointing, and direction of guns. Other related topics are ably discussed, such as the science of fortification, both of attack and of defence; the manufacture of gunpowder; the casting of cannon; and, in fact, every other theme which legitimately came within the scope of the subject.

This work gives ample evidence of the industry, research, and discrimination of its author. It made him well known in the military circles of Europe; and it clearly indicated that he was not only possessed of intellectual energies, which honorably distinguished him from the great herd of vapid and imbecile European princes, who dreamed away their useless and pernicious lives in idleness, luxury, and vice; but also, that he was preparing himself for scenes of more than ordinary vicissitude and importance, to be developed in the uncertain future.

Thus far, indeed, the events of the life of Louis Napoleon had passed by without a stigma; each succeeding year had



added to the respect which was entertained for his character and talents; and had augmented the interest, both hopeful and apprehensive, with which his future fate was contemplated. Thus far the reasonable, the prudent, the commendable, had predominated in the life of the prince; but now an unhappy episode commences in his history, in which the absurd, the ridiculous, and the unfortunate, fill up the chief measure, and give the main coloring, to his career. We have now arrived at the memorable farce and the laughable *escapade* of Strasburg, whose origin, progress, and termination, form one of the most ludicrous and anomalous scenes presented in history.

The state of France at that moment was peculiar. The prevalent feeling was one of disappointment and contempt for the government of the selfish, avaricious, and perfidious Louis Philippe. The great mass of the nation were filled with regret that they had approved the Revolution of July, which placed him on an undeserved and now tarnished throne. The small party of the Legitimists regarded the public dissatisfaction with favor; because they were waiting for an opportunity to promote the reviving hopes of the Bourbon family. The national suffrage had become a mere mockery. Among the thirty millions of Frenchmen, scarcely a quarter of a million of electors deposited their ballots. Louis Philippe, "the citizen king," had created a vast number of petty offices, which he had filled with his obsequious tools; and their agency at the polls rendered the national will a nullity. The prejudices and hatreds which had once existed against the first Napoleon, had, with the lapse of time, in a very great measure passed away; and the remembrance of his ancient glory began to resume its resistless sway over the minds of a martial and chivalrous nation. The statue of the dead Emperor had been restored to the summit of the pillar in the *Place Vendome*; the magnificent triumphal *Arc de l'Etoile* was in progress of rapid completion; already the project of removing the ashes of the mighty conqueror from

their ocean-bed at St. Helena, to the banks of the Seine, and among the French people whom he loved so well, was agitated and discussed; and thus while Louis Philippe absurdly hoped to surround himself with perpetual glories borrowed from the brow of Napoleon, he unconsciously increased the disgust of the nation at his own inferiority, and revived their admiration for the departed hero. This state of things naturally led to the revival of the hopes of the partizans of his family, and of his representatives. Every day Louis Philippe was transforming his government more and more into an unprincipled despotism, in violation of every dictate of honor, honesty, and patriotism. The house of Orleans was in truth rapidly descending from its once high estate, to the ignoble purpose and occupation of filling their money-bags, of marrying their debauched sons to the daughters of royal houses, and of promoting their most selfish personal aims, at the sacrifice of the liberties and dignity of the nation.

From 1830 till 1848, the whole reign of Louis Philippe was a continued attempt on his part, by intriguing, evading, manœuvring, and lying, to perform as little as was possible of all the solemn promises and sonorous professions, with which he ascended the throne. The most sordid, grovelling, perfidious, and disgraceful reign which has ever occurred during the whole progress of French history, taking all things calmly into consideration, was the reign of Louis Philippe. Its symbol should have been, and should forever continue to be, a full money-bag surrounded by a chain!

It was not singular that, while this reign was becoming the object of the hatred of the nation, and of the contempt of Europe, Louis Napoleon should, with his eyes vigilantly fixed upon his native land, perceive the progress and tendency of public opinion. His partizans throughout France now earnestly assured him, and that with singular unanimity, that the propitious period was approaching when he should proclaim his aims and purposes, should assume the lead in the expression of public sentiment, should offer himself to

the nation as their chief, and should overthrow the existing government.

Louis Napoleon was still residing at Arenenberg, when he himself believed the critical moment for the execution of his designs had arrived. It is highly probable that Queen Hortense both knew and approved of his plans. She still intensely yearned to see her darling and only son seated on the majestic throne of the fallen Emperor. Her conduct, when the prince left the Castle of Arenenberg under the pretext of a hunting expedition into the principality of Hec-kingen, but really for the purpose of proceeding to Baden-Baden, and thence to Strasburg, was not such as comported with the innocence and security of his alleged destination. She displayed intense emotion. She threw her arms around his neck, and repeatedly embraced him. She wept profusely; and as her son at last was about to depart, she solemnly placed upon his finger the marriage ring of Napoleon and Josephine, both as a talisman of future safety, and as a memento of past glory.

The prince arrived at Baden-Baden, and an incident there occurred which threw an air of romance around his fortunes, and pleasingly contrasted with the general gloom and cheerlessness of his impending fate. It was here that he first met the lady known as Madame Gordon.—This person was the daughter of a former captain in the Imperial army, who had followed the vicissitudes and witnessed the glory of the elder Napoleon throughout his whole career. Her mind had been early stored with legends of the Empire, and her youthful admiration had been profoundly enlisted in behalf of the great Corsican. At the period of which we now write, she was young, very beautiful, and full of bewitching arts and coquetry. Thrown at an early age upon the world, she had adopted the profession of a public singer as a means of subsistence; while, at the same time, the charms not only of her exquisite voice, but also of her beautiful face and person, were rendered tributary to the task of ministering both to her sup-

port, and to her fondness for dissipation and luxury. She had had many intrigues ; but they were always with the wealthy and the noble. Passing lightly from one amorous connection to another, as caprice or interest dictated, her life had not been devoid of deep romance. Among her various lovers, the last was one of the most distinguished and active partisans of the Bonapartist cause ; who, in a moment either of excessive carelessness or intense affection, had revealed to her the contemplated plan of Louis Napoleon, to assail and overthrow the existing government. Devotedly attached to the name and family of Napoleon, Madame Gordon became deeply interested in favor of the young adventurer. She immediately journeyed to Arenenberg, but arrived there on the very day on which Louis Napoleon departed for Baden-Baden. She instantly followed him to that retreat, ascertained the place of his temporary abode, obtained an interview with him, informed him of the fact that she had been initiated into the plot, declared her ardent devotion to his person and his cause, and offered to serve him to the utmost of her ability.

That offer was gladly accepted. Love and ambition both plead powerfully in behalf of the fair devotee ; and both seemed compatible with the interests and the tastes of the prince. By means of Madame Gordon's intelligence and beauty he opened direct communications with the officers of the regiments then stationed in Strasburg. She possessed arguments adapted to the passions of all. To the aged she presented the thrilling souvenirs of the Empire, and those triumphant and glorious scenes in which they had participated ; to the avaricious she offered immense riches ; to the ambitious she held forth the glittering meed of glory ; to the discontented the soothing solace of revenge ; and to the chivalrous and gallant, the potent blandishments of love. It was not strange that with such an emissary, assisted by others of a different character, a sufficient number of the officers of Strasburg should have been corrupted, to have induced the prince to suppose that the remainder would be easily won over to his

cause after the public demonstration in his favor had been begun.

A few weeks having been spent by Louis Napoleon at Baden-Baden, devoted to the fascinating society of Madame Gordon, and to his intrigues with his partizans and emissaries in Strasburg, he secretly proceeded on the 30th of October, 1836, to that city. He was accompanied by that lady, to whom, in this important emergency, he entrusted his papers and effects. He repaired first to the house of M. Persigny, where he remained concealed during the day. When night arrived, he proceeded to another house in a distant part of the city, in the Rue Fontaine, in the basement of which all the conspirators were to assemble at an appointed hour. The weather was cold, but a bright autumnal moon illumined the ancient and narrow streets of the city. The conspirators, to the number of thirty-five, remained in consultation during the night, intending to strike the decisive blow at six o'clock on the ensuing morning.

During the night the prince arranged with Colonel Vaudrey, the chief conspirator, the plan of the next day's proceedings. The Colonel said to him: "There is no question here of a conflict of arms; your cause is too French and too pure, to pollute it with the effusion of blood. There is only one way for you to act, which will be worthy of you. When you are at the head of my regiment we will march together to the residence of General Voirol, we will show him the imperial eagle, and he will be persuaded that the whole garrison is in our favor, and will join us." During the tedious progress of the night the deliberations of the conspirators were interrupted by the inquiries and apprehensions of the lodgers in the upper part of the house, who became alarmed by the mysterious and unusual noises which the conversation and movements of so many persons inevitably made. Silence was again commanded, and the people fortunately retired to their beds.

At length, when morning dawned, the bells in the great

tower of the Cathedral solemnly tolled forth the hour of six ; and the impressive sound striking on the expectant ears of the conspirators, summoned them to their task of glory or of ruin. They emerged into the streets and proceeded toward the barracks of the artillery. Having arrived there in company with M. Pasquin, Louis Napoleon, who had assumed the uniform of a brigadier-general, found the fourth regiment of artillery, of which Colonel Vaudrey was the commandant, drawn out in the open space before their cantonments. The colonel stood alone in the middle of the yard. Louis Napoleon proceeded immediately to join him. The colonel then drew his sword, and exclaimed to the soldiers : " Behold the nephew of Napoleon ! A great revolution is being accomplished at this moment. The nephew of Napoleon, his heir and representative, comes to reconquer the rights of the people. It is around him that all who love the glory and liberty of France, should rally. Soldiers ! you must feel, as I do, all the grandeur of the enterprise in which you are about to engage, all the sacredness of the cause which you are about to defend. Can the nephew of the great Napoleon rely upon your fidelity ?"

The soldiers responded to this speech with as much enthusiasm as could reasonably be expected on a cold autumnal morning ; while Louis Napoleon himself, boldly facing the regiment, tried his best to look as much as possible like the " Nephew of his Uncle !" He then spoke as follows : " Resolved to conquer or die for the cause of the French people, it is to you that I wish to present myself in the first instance, because between us there exists great and thrilling recollections. It was in your regiment that my uncle served as captain ; with you he fought at the siege of Toulon ; and it was your brave regiment which first received him at Grenoble on his return from Elba. Soldiers ! new destinies are in store for you ! To you is offered the honor of commencing a great enterprize ! You will have the glory of being the first to salute the eagle of Austerlitz !"

At this crisis, the prince, receiving the eagle from M. de Querelle, one of his confederate officers, held it forth at arm's length toward the regiment, and exclaimed: "Behold the symbol of the glory of France! It is destined to become the emblem of liberty! For fifteen years it led our fathers to victory; it glittered on all the battle-fields, and in all the capitals of Europe. Will you now rally around it, and march with me against the traitors and oppressors of our country? *Vive la France! Vive la Liberte!*" And once more, in response, a reasonable number of soldiers shouted out: "*Vive Napoleon! Vive l'Empereur!*"

Having thus assured himself of the attachment of the fourth regiment of artillery, the next object of the prince was to repair to the quarters of the commandant of all the military forces in Strasburg, General Voirol, in order to win him over to his cause. On his way thither, it was necessary for the prince to traverse a considerable distance, and during his progress he sent an officer, with a company of men, to the printers, to prepare and publish his proclamation. He sent other detachments to arrest the prefect of the city, and to perform several important commissions. At length the prince and his friends arrived at the residence of General Voirol. The commandant was still in bed. He refused to admit his visitors, and Louis Napoleon, Vaudrey, Pasquin, and two other officers, ascended to his room and broke open the door. On being thus assailed, Voirol gazed with mingled astonishment and terror upon the intruders. The prince, approaching him and holding toward him the eagle of Austerlitz, exclaimed: "General, I approach you as a friend. I would be sorry to raise our old tri-color without the assistance of a brave soldier like you. The garrison is in my favor; decide, and follow me!" But the old general caught none of the enthusiasm of the prince. Sitting up in bed, he began to read him a severe lecture, which, to the prince, was both inopportune and disagreeable. Said he: "You have been woefully deceived. The army knows its duty, and of this you

will soon be convinced. Your undertaking is hopeless, your attempt is criminal, and will end only in your ruin. I adjure you to go no farther."

The prince was naturally disgusted at such unwelcome advice as this, turned on his heel, ordered a file of his soldiers to arrest and guard the general, and hastened, with considerable abatement of enthusiasm, to execute the rest of his programme. He directed his steps toward the barrack of Finkmatt, in order to secure the allegiance of the regiments quartered there. Having arrived, the soldiers crowded around the prince, more from curiosity than from any other motive; and he began to harangue them. Some of them shouted *Vive Napoleon! Vive l'Empereur!* but the majority of them said nothing. At this crisis an unfortunate incident occurred, which blasted the success of the enterprise, even though the battalion of the pontonniers, and the third regiment of artillery were marching to join the prince, having been won over by the arguments of their officers. Colonel Taillander, being among the disaffected, raised the shout that the alleged Prince Napoleon was not he, but a nephew of Colonel Vaudrey. "I know him well," said he, "for I have studied with him." This revelation, coming at such a time and in such a manner, produced an electrical effect on the soldiers. The pretender was immediately greeted with loud jeers and laughter; and instantly, the romance, the glory, and the success of the enterprise were at an end. Louis Napoleon tried in vain to speak to the malcontents. Taillander ordered the gates to be closed, and the drums to beat. In vain the desperate prince demanded to be heard. His screams and violent gesticulations were only as a dumb show to the astounded and diverted lookers on; while each moment the confusion continued to increase. Muskets were discharged, swords flashed in the air, the cannoneers arrested infantry officers, and the infantry in turn arrested officers of artillery. A general melee ensued in the space before the barracks, during



which the prince, seeing his case becoming desperate, in vain besought one of the artillery-men to lend him his horse, with which to escape; and he came very near being crushed to death under the feet of horses and men. The confusion subsided as soon as the prince and his attendants were all arrested. They were immediately taken to the guard-room and confined. The disaffected regiment, covered with shame, returned quietly to their quarters; and thus ended in ignominious failure and disgrace, the memorable conspiracy of Strasburg.

A few moments after the arrest and imprisonment of the prince, General Voirol entered, who greeted him with the remark that he had found but one traitor in the army, meaning Colonel Vaudrey. Louis Napoleon responded: "Say rather, general, that I have found a Labedoyere;" and he assured him that he should interest himself for the Colonel's children, because it was through that officer's regard for General Voirol, and the waste of time spent in parleying with him, that the failure of the enterprise was in some measure to be attributed.

In a few hours the prince was removed to the prison of Strasburg, and subjected to a formal examination. He was asked what had induced him to conspire against the government. He responded that his political opinions, and a desire to reside again in his own country, from which he had been unjustly exiled, were his motives. When asked whether he had intended to establish a military government, he answered, that he desired a government based on popular election. He declared that his first step would have been to assemble a National Congress, and thus appeal to the nation for its support. He insisted that the whole rigor of the law should fall upon himself, who was the sole originator and leader in the attempt; from whom only any danger was to be apprehended.

The unfortunate prince was then left alone in his dungeon, to indulge in profound and useful "*Reveries*" on the vanity

and instability of human grandeur! He discovered, when too late, that he had acted very rashly in commencing decisive measures, as the legitimate heir and successor of the great Corsican, before the arrival of the appropriate juncture, without proper preparations, and probably by the use of means which are not wisely adapted to the accomplishment of the intended end, even if used at the most propitious time.

## CHAPTER IV.

Presence of Mind and Intrepidity of Madame Gordon — Her Trial and Acquittal — Her subsequent Fate — The Gratitude of Louis Napoleon — His Removal to Paris — Intercessions of Queen Hortense in his behalf — The Prince Banished — His Voyage to Rio Janeiro — His Arrival at New York — His Conduct in the United States — Letter from Hortense — His Return to Switzerland — Death of Hortense — *Brochure* of M. Persigny — Re-published by M. Laity — Letter of Louis Napoleon to Laity — Louis Philippe demands his Expulsion from Switzerland — The Cantons refuse — War threatened — Voluntary withdrawal of the Prince — He goes to England — Publishes his *Idees Napoleoniennes* — Gore House — The Countess of Blessington — Lord Eglinton — The Prince's Habits of Dissipation in London — His connection with Mrs. Howard — Her History and Career.

THE inhabitants of Strasburg learned almost at the same moment the outbreak of the conspiracy and its suppression. On the arrest of its chief, his principal confederates were also taken into custody, though confined in separate prisons. The devoted Madame Gordon had awaited in her apartments, with intense anxiety, the progress of the insurrection; and she soon received information of its total failure. She displayed in this great crisis as much intrepidity as she had before exhibited adroitness and tact; and instead of seeking her immediate safety in concealment or flight, she employed the precious moments in committing to the flames all the papers and memorials connected with the plot, which had been left in her keeping. This act of superior courage and sagacity on her part preserved many persons from ruin, and from the vengeance of the government of Louis Philippe. She had scarcely completed her generous task, when her apartment was entered by the police, and she herself conveyed to prison. Her subsequent fate is interesting. At her trial she was acquitted, inasmuch as no evidence could be

found to implicate her. Her services were appreciated by Queen Hortense, whose grateful munificence she soon experienced. The beautiful conspirator ever after remained devotedly attached to the person and the fortunes of the prince; and during his subsequent wanderings and vicissitudes, she occasionally enjoyed his society. It may not be improper here to add, that both during his imprisonment and exile in after years, she often relieved his pecuniary necessities; and that, when he rose at length to imperial power and splendor, she was not forgotten. Colonel Vaudrey was also rewarded, and was appointed the Governor of the *Hotel des Invalides*, after the *coup d'etat*. Madame Gordon is said still to reside in Paris, under another name, in the enjoyment of all the opulence and luxury which the gratitude and admiration of the Emperor can bestow. Whenever the monarch can secretly escape from the heavy cares of empire, and from the lynx-eyed vigilance of Eugenie, his first retreat even yet, is to the sumptuous residence of the still pleasing and attractive Madame Gordon; where wit, cheerfulness, luxury, and the thrilling reminiscences of the checkered past, present a welcome contrast to the gorgeous and stupid monotonies of the imperial court and palace.

After a confinement of ten days in the castle of Strasburg, Louis Napoleon was informed that he was to be transferred to another prison. He was first taken to the hotel of the prefect, where he found two post-chaises in waiting. He was ordered to enter one, in company with M. Cuynat, commander of the gendarmerie of the Seine, and Lieutenant Shiboulet; while the other was filled with officers. They immediately started for Paris. During the journey, his attendants treated the captive prince with respect; and they arrived at the capital on the 11th of November, at two o'clock in the morning.

Immediately after the outbreak of the insurrection Queen Hortense, being informed of its failure, braved the prohibition which still excluded the Bonaparte family from the soil of France, and hastened to the presence of Louis Philippe.

She implored his clemency in behalf of her son with frantic earnestness; and not in vain. She was able to point to the lenity of the fallen emperor toward the Duchess de Berry, on a former occasion; and, under similar circumstances, Louis Philippe was convinced that policy itself commended the path of generosity, because he thought that, if he punished the prince severely or capitally, he would incense the great Napoleonic party in France; whereas if he forgave, he would both conciliate them, and at the same time convince the nation that he regarded the attempt and the influence of the prince as too insignificant to deserve any serious penalty. Louis Philippe, accordingly, promised to deal gently with the hero of Strasburg, but only on certain conditions. One of these was that he should forever absent himself from France; and the other, that he should renounce all claims and aspirations to the throne. The former condition the prince promised solemnly to fulfil; the latter he adroitly evaded. What assurances Queen Hortense may have made in behalf of her son, it is impossible to say. He himself gave none, except a promise of perpetual exile from France.

In pursuance of his sentence of banishment, the prince was conveyed to the citadel of Port Louis. Here he was detained ten days, waiting for a favorable wind. He was to be conveyed to the United States in a French frigate. Before he set sail he wrote to M. Barrot, the distinguished Parisian advocate, requesting him to take charge of the defence of Colonel Vaudrey. He also wrote to Louis Philippe, asking his indulgence in behalf of his confederates in the insurrection, and declaring that the sole blame should rest with him, who had seduced them by glorious recollections, in a moment of excitement and confusion. It is doubtful whether these representations had any weight with the crafty and selfish monarch who then governed the destinies of France. The offenders were brought to trial, but the jury acquitted them.

This "mad affair of Strasburg" has always been regarded in different lights by different parties. The prevalent senti-

*Ze habe is cooperative  
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ment throughout Europe in reference to it, has generally been unmixed ridicule and contempt. The press during many months overflowed with innumerable satires and outbursts of derision. The movement was described as the absurd attempt of an obscure and unknown boy to imitate the memorable and triumphant return of Napoleon from Elba; and, as a proof that the prince did not possess sagacity enough to see the difference between the two cases, they cited the several results. Perhaps the best excuse for Louis Napoleon on this occasion, will be found in the fact that, being excluded from the soil of France, he was readily deceived by his enthusiastic emissaries in reference to the existing state of public opinion; that he was led to believe that the whole nation was ready to rise at any instant, in support of his pretensions; that Louis Philippe was then tottering on his throne; and that the most propitious moment for action had already arrived. It cannot be denied that during the progress of the insurrection the conduct of the prince was not deficient either in energy, fortitude, or determination. The following extract from a letter, written by him after his departure from France, and addressed to M. Villaud, explains his own views in reference to the matter: "I had two lines of conduct open to me: the one, which in some respects depended on myself; the other, which depended on events. In deciding upon the former, I became, as you very truly say, a means; in waiting for the other, I should only have been a resource. According to my views and my convictions, the first part appeared to me much preferable to the other. The success of my project would offer to me the following advantages: I should have done in one day, and by a *coup de main*, the work of perhaps ten years: successful, I spared France the conflicts, the troubles, the disorders, attendant upon a state of general confusion, *which must, I think, occur sooner or later*. 'The spirit of a revolution,' M. Thiers observes, 'consists in an ardent passion for the object in view, and a hatred for those who oppose an obstacle to its attainment.' Having led the

people with us, by means of the army, we should have had all the noble passions, without animosities; for animosity only results from a conflict between physical force and moral force. For myself, my position would have been clear, simple, and easy. Having carried a revolution with the aid of fifteen persons, if I had arrived in Paris, I should have owed my success to the people only — not to any party: arriving there victorious I should, of my own free will, without being compelled to it, have laid down my sword upon the altar of my country; and then they might well have confidence in me, for it was no longer my name alone, but my person, which became a guarantee for my conduct. In the other case supposed, I could only have been called upon by a fraction of the people; I should have had as my enemies, not only a debilitated government, but a crowd of other parties, themselves too, perhaps, of a national character.”<sup>1</sup>

It was nearly a fortnight before the vessel which carried the adventurous prince and his uncertain fortunes passed through the channel, being detained by contrary winds. The commander was Captain Villeneuve, and his orders were first to sail to Rio Janeiro, where the vessel was to be re-victualled, thence to proceed to the port of New York. The voyage to Brazil was, for the most part, a tranquil and pleasant one. On crossing the line the prince was exempted from the usual ceremonies in honor of Neptune, which are then performed. He passed his time chiefly in reading. On New Year's day all the officers of the vessel entered his cabin to compliment him with their good wishes. His thoughts, he tells us, reverted with painful emotions to the castle of Arenemberg. He thus wrote to his mother on that day: “I am fifteen hundred leagues away from you, in another hemisphere. Happily, thought traverses all this space in less than a second. And n thought I am near you: I express all my regrets for the

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<sup>1</sup> “*Napoleon the Third; Review of his Life, Character, and Policy, &c., by a British Officer:*” London, Longman & Co., 1857, p. 78.

torments I have occasioned you; I renew the expression of my tenderness and gratitude. This morning the officers came in a body to wish me a happy new year — an attention with which I was sensibly touched. At half past four we were at table; as we are seventeen degrees west of Constance, it was at that time about seven o'clock at Arenemberg; you were then, probably, also at dinner. In thought I drank your health; perhaps you did the same towards me; at least, I took pleasure in thinking so. I also thought of my companions in misfortune. Alas! I am always thinking of them. I thought they were more unhappy than I, and this idea rendered me more unhappy even than themselves.

“January 10. We have just arrived at Rio Janeiro. The *coup d'œil* of the harbor is magnificent: to-morrow I shall make a sketch of it. I hope this letter will reach you soon. Do not think of coming to join me. I do not yet know where I shall settle; perhaps I shall find more inducements to live in South America; the labor to which, in order to create myself a position, the uncertainty of my fate will compel me, will be the only consolation I shall enjoy.”

Having at length arrived at New York, Louis Napoleon there found two of his cousins, Achille and Lucien Murat. One of these had just received the rank of colonel in the army of the United States, and the other held a lucrative civil appointment. Louis Napoleon, during his short stay in the land of Washington, employed himself in studying American politics, institutions, arts, and society. It has been asserted that his life now became the life of an abandoned debauchee; that he was overwhelmed with want, and borrowed money from all his friends, which he never returned; that he was even arrested for debt, and confined either in the Tombs or the Debtor's Prison in Eldridge street, in New York; and that he acted in every way unworthy of his character and his hopes. It is probable that these stories are exaggerated, and that his conduct is confounded with that of some other members of the Bonaparte family, who have at different periods



sojourned in the United States. It is not probable that he was poor, for Hortense possessed ample resources, and had opportunities of conveying funds to her son.

It is nevertheless true, that the prince was fond of luxurious living, and indulged to some degree in dissipation during his residence in New York. Among his favorite places of resort was a public saloon which flourished at that period in Grand street, under the superintendence of an abandoned French woman, named Mercier. This place was frequented by the most dissipated adventurers in the city of both sexes, many of whom were natives of Europe. Among their number was a courtesan of more than ordinary beauty, a native of Bayonne, who was generally regarded as a Spanish Jewess. Her name was Josephine Ballabo; and with her the young prince formed the only liaison with which he was reported to have been concerned during his short residence in the United States. He became attached in no small degree to the impassioned and ardent Josephine; and when at length he parted from her, it was with considerable regret. This event took place suddenly, in consequence of the reception by the prince of a letter from his mother, which induced him to return to Arenenberg. It was as follows:

“I am about to undergo an operation which has become absolutely necessary. In case it should not terminate successfully, I send you, in this letter, my blessing. We shall meet again—shall we not—in a better world, where may you come to join me as late as possible! And you will believe that, in quitting this world, I regret only leaving yourself, and your fond, affectionate disposition, which alone has given any charm to my existence. This will be a consolation for you, my dear friend—to reflect that, by your attentions, you have rendered your mother as happy as circumstances would allow her to be. You will think also of all my affection for you; and this will inspire you with courage. Think upon this, that we shall always have a benevolent and distinct feeling for all that passes in this world below, and that,

assuredly, we shall all meet again. Reflect upon this consolatory idea ; it is one which is too necessary not to be true. And that good Arese ! I send him my blessing as to a son. I press you to my heart, my dear friend. I am calm ; perfectly resigned ; and I would still hope that we may meet again, even in this world."

Immediately on the receipt of this letter Louis Napoleon embarked for Europe, and arrived at Arenenberg in time to render the last offices of affection to his dying mother. After her death he continued to reside at Arenenberg ; but he was an object of great jealousy and mistrust to Louis Philippe. He was constantly surrounded by vigilant spies. At this period M. Persigny, one of his confederates in the affair of Strasburg, resided in England, and published a plain and truthful narrative of all the details connected with the conspiracy, in answer to the innumerable libels and caricatures which were constantly printed and distributed. The *brochure* of M. Persigny was widely diffused, and many copies were conveyed into France ; and M. Laity, another partizan of the prince, undertook to republish it even in Paris. This bold proceeding at once brought upon him the vengeance of the government. Laity was arrested, tried, convicted, and sentenced, for an attempt against the peace and safety of the state.

During the progress of this trial Louis Napoleon wrote a long letter to M. Laity, in which he commends his conduct, justifies his publication, and consoles him for his misfortunes. In the course of this letter he says : " But if, at some future day, parties overthrow the present government, (and the example of the last fifty years permits us such a supposition,) and if, accustomed as they have been, for twenty-three years, to despise authority, they undermine all the bases of the social edifice, then perhaps the name of Napoleon would prove an anchor of safety for all that is generous and really patriotic in France." This declaration was too distinct and unequivocal to be misunderstood. It clearly indicated that the prince

still proposed and anticipated the overthrow of the Orleans dynasty, at some future and more propitious period.

The result was, that Louis Philippe immediately demanded from the Swiss government, the expulsion of the prince from their territory, on the ground that he had solemnly promised to remain in America for ten years, that he had violated his engagements, and that he was then plotting against the security of the French government. The note addressed to the Helvetic Diet by the Duke of Montebello on behalf of Louis Philippe, set forth these facts, and contained this demand; but the Cantons at once resisted the proposal on the ground that it was hostile to their independence. Louis Philippe ordered an armed demonstration to be made on the frontier to overawe the Cantons. The latter were not dismayed, however, but soon assembled twenty thousand men to defend the integrity and freedom of their native rocks and hills. An effusion of blood would doubtless have ensued, which the insignificance of the occasion would scarcely have justified, had not Louis Napoleon adroitly evaded the difficulty by voluntarily withdrawing from the Swiss territory. He wrote a letter to the Landammann Anderwert, the president of the Council of Thurgovia, in which he announced his intention to withdraw, and added: "In leaving voluntarily at this time the only country in Europe where I have found support and protection, in departing from scenes which had become dear to me for so many reasons, I hope to prove to the Swiss people that I am worthy of the marks of esteem and affection which they have lavished upon me. I shall never forget the noble conduct of the Cantons that have spoken so boldly in my favor, and above all, the generous protection of the Canton of Thurgovia will forever remain deeply engraven on my heart."

The policy of Louis Philippe in thus publicly demanding the expulsion of the prince from Switzerland, was the most short-sighted which could possibly have been pursued. Until that moment Louis Napoleon had been an adventurer,

without claims, and without principles, and almost without partizans. The conduct of the French king at once gave him, in the eyes of the whole world, as well as in his own, an acknowledged importance. He had made an equal of the former despised refugee, in a great struggle, and in that struggle the prospect was that the monarch would have been ultimately defeated. The ancient and heroic spirit of William Tell had been aroused and re-animated from the grave of centuries, and the struggle on the part of the Swiss in defence of their rights and territory, would doubtless have been desperate and protracted.

These events took place in September, 1838. After the departure of the prince from Switzerland Louis Philippe recalled his armies, and exulted in the withdrawal of his foe, now for the first time really made important by his own folly; the Swiss patriots returned to their watch-making, their chamois hunting in the lofty solitudes of the Upper Alps, and to their farming. Louis Napoleon, the single cause of all this excitement, quietly passed over to England, there to await in security, but with little probability of success, the advent of more propitious times.

During his residence in England the prince assumed a new aspect. In suspending for a period the yearnings of ambition, he seems to have appropriated the interval to the gratification of his passions. This is the portion of his career upon which it is least attractive to dwell, and which is most discreditable to his fame. For a time all his high, aspiring hopes, his assiduous studies and labors for his own improvement, even his personal character and self-respect, were absorbed and lost in his devotion or abandonment to pleasure.

His residence was at Carlton Terrace. During the first year of his abode in England he still devoted some time to study, and wrote and published his work entitled: "*Des Idees Napoleoniennes*," or Thoughts on Napoleonism; or, in other words, the establishment of the Napoleonic Dynasty and power in France. The purpose of this work will be

gathered from the following extract from his preface: "If the destiny promised me by my birth, had not been changed by events, nephew of the Emperor, I would have been one of the defenders of his throne, one of the propagators of his ideas; I would have had the glory of being one of the pillars of his throne, or of dying in one of the squares of his guards, fighting for France. The Emperor is no more; but his spirit is not dead. Deprived of the opportunity of defending his protecting power with the sword, I can at least try to defend his memory with the pen. To enlighten opinions by searching for the thought that presided over his lofty conceptions, to recall to men's minds the memory of his vast projects, — this is a task which still gratifies my heart and consoles me for exile. Fear of shocking contrary opinions shall not stay me; ideas which are under the ægis of the greatest genius of modern times can be avowed without circumlocation; they cannot vary with the thermometer of the political atmosphere."

There is nothing either original or remarkable in this book, and it is in itself devoid of all interest, except that which is derived from the birth and subsequent career of its author. He asserts that the great object and aim of the first Napoleon was to *guide France to liberty!* The absurdity of this declaration will strike every one; for there never existed a more powerful and resistless despotism in any country than that exercised by the hero of Austerlitz over the French people. So far as material splendor was concerned, he increased and diffused it. But so far as true liberty, both of word and action, was concerned, he crushed out its last glimmering spark. Such "liberty" as this, Napoleon III. may also be said to have bestowed on France in the largest and most abundant measure, since his assumption of the imperial purple. The publication of his Ideas on Napoleonism occupied but a small portion of the prince's time and attention. A recent biographer, whose whole work is a tissue of perversions and flatteries of the prince, for which he was no

doubt handsomely rewarded, thus describes and endeavors to defend his conduct in England: <sup>1</sup> "He studied us through ourselves, as well as through our literature, and by mingling in general society, observing men, women, thoughts, habits, and institutions, obtained in all probability a more intimate acquaintance with our real state and condition, than is possessed by some of those who share in making our laws, and giving the tone to our policy, both domestic and external."

The truth is, that the prince obtained just such an acquaintance with the British nation, as any intelligent debauchee might secure, who mingled intimately with all the more dissipated classes of society; with voluptuous nobles, with polished adventurers, with horse-jockeys, gamblers, women of easy-virtue, political desperadoes, foreign refugees, *et id omne genus*. The British aristocracy tolerated him in their society, because to this his birth and associations entitled him. His most welcome haunt among them was at Gore House, the residence of the Countess of Blessington. This lady was celebrated for her beauty and her accomplishments, both of person and of intellect. Her saloons were frequented by the most polished, the most cultivated, and the most distinguished members of society. All the *beau monde* of the intellectual class constantly met at her residence. Lady Blessington herself had seen Queen Hortense and Louis Napoleon in Italy, in 1828. She had become much attached to the fallen queen, and felt an interest in the fortunes of her son, which ever after continued till her death. At Gore House, therefore, the prince was always a welcome guest, and there was thrown into the society of the most distinguished personages of the time in England.

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<sup>1</sup> See "*Napoleon III., Review of his Life, Character, and Policy, by a British Officer,*" London, 1857, p. 104. A careful reader of this book must come to the deliberate conclusion that it is nothing more than a State-paper, prepared and issued by the government of Louis Napoleon in his defence; so utterly false, perverted, unfounded, and unfair, is almost every statement contained in it from beginning to end.

In the summer of 1840, he was also invited by Lord Eglinton to attend the festivities of a grand tournament given by him at his castle in Scotland. The queen of beauty on that occasion was Lady Seymour. The appearance which he made among the splendid and opulent nobility who were there congregated, was not deficient in elegance and taste. But he won no prizes in the lists.

While such occasional intercourse with the highest rank of British society adorned his career and residence in England, it must be admitted that its general character was much less commendable. It may be that the agony of "hope deferred" may have at length rendered him desperate, and indifferent to public opinion. Certain it is, that in London he now led the life of a dissipated adventurer. He visited the most celebrated gambling-houses in the metropolis. He betted on the horse-racing at New-Market. He was a frequenter of the most fashionable houses of prostitution, and spent days and nights in their drunken, licentious, and boisterous orgies. It was in one of these resorts that he first met a woman whose name has since been publicly associated with his own, and whom, therefore, it is proper that the pen of history should notice. During the darkest and most desperate period of his career in London, Louis Napoleon was indebted to Mrs. Howard, not only for the solace of her love and attachment, but also for the means of subsistence. When he first became acquainted with her, his pecuniary resources had become exhausted, and he was living in straitened circumstances. Mrs. Howard was a woman of great talent and beauty, and possessed considerable romance of character. The career and family connections of the needy prince charmed her fancy, and she was flattered with the idea of becoming both his protector, his *cher amie*, and his partisan.

This remarkable woman deserves a word of passing description. If the sketches of her career which have been published are to be believed, she almost deserves the title of the Ninon de l'Enclos of the present century. It is said that

she was born in Yorkshire, the daughter of a small English farmer. Her youth was passed in the simple and healthy pursuits which naturally engrossed her attention; while the very superior personal charms which nature had bestowed upon her, were ripened and developed by the fresh air, the vigorous exercise, and the nourishing food of her native fields. She received the usual amount of elementary instruction which falls to the lot of farmers' children in England; but she possessed what was of much more importance to her than mere book-learning, — great natural intelligence, an agreeable and vivacious wit, womanly adroitness and craft, together with more than ordinary resolution and determination of purpose.

At the age of seventeen she met, at a neighboring fair, a handsome young English nobleman, whose fancy was immediately taken by her superior beauty, by the natural ease and gracefulness which she possessed, and by her pleasing vivacity. He promised her the enjoyment of wealth, luxury, and splendor in the capital. He pictured to her imagination scenes of pleasure and indulgence, which the simplicity and poverty of her native hills rendered impossible; and he plead beside all this, the ardor of his own love. The fair young girl was flattered and attracted by the protestations of the youth, and after some hesitation, resigned herself to his wishes. He returned with her to London, took apartments for her there, and during some months he seemed entirely devoted to his beautiful rural conquest. The rest of the history of this woman is but a repetition of the vicissitudes which usually befall the victims and the votaries of vice. Deserted in the course of a year by her first love, Mrs. Howard was thrown upon the world. She had made the acquaintance of several nobleman to whom the *soi-disant* Colonel Howard had introduced her during the period of their intimacy. To these she now applied for assistance, nor was the application in vain. She was still in the first blush of her beauty, still young, still gay, still fond of pleasure; and what was now of more importance to her, she had aptly learned from her seducer the airs



and manners of aristocratic and polished life, which served considerably to enhance her charms. Like Mrs. Gordon, she passed, with the progress of time, from one admirer to another. Sometimes she lived in luxurious and lavish opulence; sometimes she was straitened for the most necessary means. Her chief impediment to uniform prosperity in her precarious and discreditable course of life, was the ardor and impetuosity of her temper. She ruled her lovers with a rod of iron; and her supremacy usually ended after a period of amorous attachment, in the breaking of those chains which she invariably rendered too heavy, even though they might have been gilded. Her last lover was a young nobleman, who had, on dissolving his connection with her, made her the mistress of an establishment of a sumptuous but questionable character in the metropolis; and it was while thus situated that she formed the acquaintance of the penniless aspirer to the ancient throne of the Bourbons.

## CHAPTER V.

Louis Napoleon in England — Insurrection of Barbes — False Opinions as to the State of Feeling in France — The Affair of Boulogne — Want of Organization and Preparation in France — Louis Napoleon and his Friends embark on the “City of Edinburgh” — Their Arrival on the Coast of France — They disembark — Proclamation to the Soldiers — Attempt to corrupt the Garrison of Boulogne — Partial Success — Subsequent Failure — Arrest of Louis Napoleon and his Associates — Colonel Puygillier — Trial of the Conspirators — Evidence against them — Eloquence of Counsel, Berryer and Ferdinand Barrot — Conviction of the Prisoners — Their Sentence — Louis Napoleon condemned to Imprisonment for Life — Fortress of Ham — Prevalent Opinions in reference to the Affair of Boulogne — Its peculiar Error — Its advantageous Results on the subsequent Fate of Louis Napoleon.

ALTHOUGH Louis Napoleon had in a great measure abandoned himself, as far as his limited means enabled him so to do, to a life of pleasure, during his residence in England, yet he did not wholly forget his former political aspirations. Ambition was not yet dead within him; though adverse circumstances, and probably the death of his mother, had for a time weakened its power over his mind. He was constantly associated in London with many Frenchmen, who from time to time assured him of the growing dissatisfaction of the French nation with their imbecile and perfidious king. The insurrection of *Barbes*, which took place in May, 1839, was a spark which emanated from the great volcano which burned with suppressed, but growing, fury beneath the throne of Louis Philippe; and that insurrection was a proof of the general state of public feeling and discontent. Louis Napoleon was charged with having instigated the movement of Barbes; but that charge was false. He denied the imputation in the public press; and said, with considerable assumption of heroic

valor: "If I were the soul of a conspiracy, I should also be the leader of it in the day of danger. I should not deny it, after its defeat."

But Louis Napoleon began to weary of his obscure life in London, of his insignificant associations and pursuits, of his midnight dissipations, and even of the voluptuous, though tyrannical, supremacy of Mrs. Howard. Some of the desperate French refugees then residing in the English capital, succeeded in persuading the prince, that a particularly favorable period had arrived for the assertion of his claims; and that if he then showed himself in France the whole nation would rise *en masse* in his favor, would hurry him to the summit of power, and forever expel, perhaps even destroy, the hated Orleans race. It is singular that a man possessing ordinary sagacity should have been so easily misled, both as to the state of France, and as to the means necessary to overthrow the government. There was then no organization or preparation made for Louis Napoleon's reception. There was no body of men with whom a correspondence had been carried on, and who were prepared to second and complete the movement on the arrival of the Pretender. Everybody was to be taken by surprise. Neither soldiers, nor officers, nor citizens, were to greet his presence by any preconcerted movement. And if the affair of Strasburg had been badly managed, the affair of Boulogne was about to be infinitely worse. In the former instance there had been concert of action, a pre-organization of assisting and confluent forces, a definite and prudent programme of anticipated events, which were to be consecutively brought about and executed.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> It is probable that the strongest and most conclusive consideration, which misled Louis Napoleon as to the propriety of his moving at that time was, that a law had recently passed the Chambers in favor of bringing the remains of the great Napoleon from St. Helena to Paris; and because the proposition was greeted with applause by the whole French nation and by the press. The Prince de Joinville had been appointed to the command of the frigate La Belle Poule, in order to execute the project.

But in the Boulogne movement there was nothing of all this. A desperate adventurer was about to throw himself upon an astonished nation of thirty millions of people, whose government had already condemned him; while in addition to this, his entry upon their forbidden soil was for the purpose of committing an act for which the law would sentence him to death. In a word, Louis Napoleon was about to attempt the overthrow of the existing government of France, without an army, without confederates, without any personal character or popularity to aid him, attended only by fifty nameless adventurers, as desperate and as imbecile as himself! Such was the real character of the most absurd and preposterous movement ever undertaken, either in ancient or modern times. It is not strange that it ended in ignominious failure, and that it covered the prince with a universal flood of ridicule and contempt.

The necessary means for this expedition were raised in London by borrowing money at exorbitant rates from Jews, stock-jobbers, and speculators. The steam-frigate "City of Edinburg" was chartered for the occasion, and she was amply supplied with arms, ammunition, liquors, together with a live eagle, which was intended to represent the victorious bird of the Empire. On the 6th of August, 1840, the adventurers embarked at London; and the utmost conviviality prevailed on board during their progress down the Channel. In fact, a very large proportion of them became completely intoxicated. At length, having approached the coast of France near Boulogne, an officer of the customs named Audinet discovered the mysterious vessel when about a mile from shore. At first, he thought it was an English steamer waiting for dispatches. But when the officer perceived a boat full of passengers detach itself from the vessel and row toward the shore, he hastened to the spot where they were about to land, and hailed them. They answered that they were soldiers of the fortieth regiment of the line, that they were

proceeding from Dunkirk to Cherbourg, and wished to land to repair the broken wheel of their frigate.

The officer was satisfied with this story, and made no further opposition. Fifteen soldiers immediately landed, the boat then returned to the steamer, and making three successive voyages, conveyed the whole party to the shore. During the landing, four men who came from Boulogne, were greeted by the conspirators as friends, and were immediately invested with the uniforms of officers. This was the extent of the preparation which had been made to receive and support the prince. By this time, Bally, lieutenant of the customs at Boulogne, had been informed of the arrival of the vessel; and he supposed that it was an attempt to evade the sanitary laws. He hastened from Boulogne to investigate the matter. As he approached Vimereux, a village in the close vicinity of the spot where the landing took place, he was arrested by the officers of Louis Napoleon, and compelled to accompany them back to Boulogne. He was then also informed of the nature of the movement, and was invited to join the conspirators, who assured him that in a few days the prince would be the absolute sovereign of France. But the astonished Bally remained incredulous, declined the offer, and indignantly refused a handful of gold which was tendered him. Yet was he compelled to lead the way for the detested rabble toward the gate of the *grand rue* of Boulogne. As they approached, they did their best to shout *Vive l'Empereur*; and they cast loose from time to time the live eagle which they carried with them, drawing him back again by means of the cord attached ignominiously to his talons, whenever his flight threatened to be too ambitious. Soon the company approached the barracks of the forty-second regiment of the line, before which the principle demonstration was to be made. The conspirators were led on by the prince, General Montholon, Colonel Voison, Pasquin, and Persigny. Arriving at the quarters of the regiment, the prince drew from his pocket the following proclamation, and boldly read it: "Sol-

diers! France is made to command, and she obeys. You are the *élite* of the people, and you are treated like a vile herd. You are made to protect the national honor, and it is against your brothers that you turn your arms. Those who rule you would degrade the noble profession of soldier. You have been indignant, and have asked yourselves, 'What has become of the eagles of Arcola, of Austerlitz, of Jena?' Here are those eagles! I restore them to you: take them back: with them you shall have glory, honor, fortune, and what is more than all, the gratitude and esteem of your fellow-countrymen.

"Soldiers! between you and me there are indissoluble ties: we have the same objects of hatred and love, the same interests and the same enemies.

"Soldiers! the mighty shadow of Napoleon speaks to you in my voice. Hasten, whilst it crosses the ocean, to send away those traitors and oppressors, and show him at his arrival that you are the worthy children of the Grand Army, and that you have resumed those sacred emblems which for twenty years appalled the enemies of France, amongst whom were those that are ruling you to-day.

"Soldiers! to arms! *Vive la France!*"

This proclamation being read, a considerable number of the soldiers immediately shouted *Vive Napoleon!* Lieutenant Aladenize was particularly energetic at this crisis, and exerted himself to win over the soldiers, in which purpose he was, to some extent, successful. The next step was to induce the garrison of Boulogne to accompany the prince to St. Omer, and corrupt the troops there stationed. Had he succeeded in both of these purposes, the consequences might perhaps have been different. But at this critical moment the commanding officer of the garrison, Colonel Puygillier, who had been attracted to the spot by the commotion, made his appearance; energetically denounced the prince and his confederates; ordered his men with the utmost ferocity to return to their quarters; and thus succeeded in confounding and

eventually in destroying all the plans and the partial success of the conspirators. By this time, also, the civil authorities of Boulogne had received information of what had transpired, and they were rapidly assembling the National Guard. Colonel Puygillier at this moment peremptorily ordered the prince to leave the barracks, and the soldiers to drive out the conspirators. They obeyed. A general stampede then began on the part of the conspirators toward the shore, with the design of reaching the frigate, which still rode at anchor there. The soldiers, headed by Puygillier, followed them. It was a regular chase; velocity of heels now became an affair of the first consequence; but the advantage of numbers was in favor of the pursuers; and at the column of Napoleon the fugitives were completely surrounded. The prince then exclaimed: "All is lost; there is nothing left but death!" At the same moment he drew his pistol, fired at his assailants, and shot a grenadier. The fighting continued while the parties were approaching the shore. By this time a considerable number had been wounded and killed on both sides. The prince himself was slightly wounded in two places, and two of his officers were shot dead at his side. At length the fugitives, notwithstanding their resistance, were all overpowered and captured. They were first taken to the castle of Boulogne; the next day they commenced their journey toward Paris.

Thus ended the famous affair of Boulogne, which resulted most disastrously to the fortunes, the reputation, and the prospects of the future emperor of the French. The frigate was soon captured by the custom-house officers, and one thousand muskets, together with a hundred thousand dollars, were found secreted on board.

The excitement produced in Paris by the affair of Boulogne was considerable. Many persons were arrested in the capital whose attachment to the Bonaparte cause was known. Even harmless females fell beneath the vengeance of the government.

Among these was Madame Salvage de Fogerolles, formerly maid of honor to Queen Hortense.

On the 28th of September, Louis Napoleon was arraigned for trial before the Chamber of Peers. He was defended by M. Berryer, the distinguished Legitimist lawyer, who was celebrated both as a statesman and as an advocate. The evidence against the prince was perfectly conclusive. Beside the two proclamations which he had published to the soldiers and to the people of Boulogne, there were two others which were equally positive and unambiguous. These were addressed to the French people. One of these contains the following language: "What have those who govern you done to possess any claim on your love? They promised you peace, and they have brought upon you civil commotions and the disastrous war of Africa; they promised a diminution of the taxes, and all the gold you possess would not glut their avidity; they promised you a pure administration, and they reign only by corruption; they promised you liberty, and they protect only privileges and abuses; they promised you stability, and in ten years they have established nothing. In short, they promised to defend conscientiously our honor, our rights, our interests, and they have on all occasions sold our honor, abandoned our rights, betrayed our interests! It is time such iniquities should come to an end; it is time to go and ask them what they have done with the grand, generous, unanimous France of 1830! Farmers, they have laid on you during peace heavier taxes than Napoleon ever demanded during war. Manufacturers and merchants, your interests have been sacrificed to foreign exigencies; they use the gold in corruption which the emperor employed to encourage your efforts and to enrich yourselves. Finally, all you classes, industrious and poor, who are in France the refuge of all noble sentiments, remember that it was amongst you Napoleon chose his lieutenants, his marshals, his ministers, his princes, his friends. Give me your support, and let us show the world that neither you nor I have degenerated.



“I entertained a hope, as did you, that without revolution we might be able to correct the evil influences of the government; but to-day no more hope. In ten years they have changed the ministry ten times; and they may change it ten times over again, and the grievances and the miseries of the country would still continue the same.”

Such language indicates the purpose of treason as clearly as language possibly can do. The Otin proclamation was, however, still more explicit, and must have excited the derision of the whole nation, from its astounding tone of arrogance and confidence.

“Prince Napoleon, in the name of the French people, decrees as follows :

“The dynasty of the Bourbons of Orleans has ceased to reign.

“The French people have resumed their rights. The troops are released from their oath of allegiance. The Chamber of Peers and the Chamber of Deputies are dissolved.

“A National Congress shall be convoked on the arrival of Prince Napoleon at Paris.

“M. Thiers, President of the Council, is appointed, at Paris, President of the Provisional Government.

“Marshal Clausel is appointed Commander-in-Chief of the troops assembled at Paris.

“General Pajol preserves the command of the first military division.

“All the commanders who will not immediately conform with his orders shall be removed.

“All the officers, subalterns, and soldiers, who will energetically display their sympathy for the national cause shall be nobly recompensed in the name of their country.

“God protect France !”

But the French people refused to permit the prince to “decree” in their name. They could decree for themselves without his assistance ! The specific charge made against

the prince at this time was, that on the 6th of August, 1840, he made an attempt, commencing at Boulogne, to destroy or change the government, to excite the citizens to take up arms against the royal authority, and to kindle the flames of civil war. The Chancellor Pasquier was President. The government was represented by the Procurator-General Carré, assisted by the Attorney-General Bouchy, and the Deputies Nanquier and Glandaz. Against all these combined the ability and eloquence of M. Berryer was considered a sufficient counterpoise.

During the course of the trial the prince was permitted to speak in his own defence. He addressed the Chamber of Peers, composed of a hundred and fifty members; and it was a remarkable circumstance that a large proportion of his judges were the former companions in arms or members of the household of Napoleon himself. During the progress of the interrogatories which were addressed to the prince by the chancellor, he did not deny that he had attempted to overthrow the government, but justified his acts by pleading his good intentions, and desire to promote the welfare of France. At the same time he refused to compromise any of his secret confederates. General Montholon, General Voisin, MM. Lombard and Persigny, were also interrogated, with the same result. The witnesses for the prosecution described all that had transpired at Boulogne. The testimony of Major Puységur was most conclusive of all. After the examination of the witnesses for the government the procurator-general addressed the chamber. His task was an easy one; for never was the truth of any charge more clearly evident. The speech of M. Berryer displayed great ability. Fully conscious of the desperate nature of his client's position, who, if convicted, would probably be condemned to death, he put forth his utmost abilities. His oration was marked by the peculiarities which usually characterize French forensic efforts; and had it been possible for the judges to have been deluded in reference to the nature of an act whose guilt was as clear as the light of

the noonday sun, he had done it. He assumed the position, that after the principle established in France by the events of 1794, an appeal to the nation, calling upon it to declare its sentiments in reference to any existing or proposed government, was legitimate and not treasonable; that this principle had been acted on by every government which had ruled France since the death of Louis XVI., and that such, and such only, was the basis and claim upon which the government of Louis Philippe itself rested. He concluded with an able argument to show that under such circumstances the attempt of Louis Napoleon was nothing more than a legitimate and justifiable appeal on his part to the French people, asking them to decide for themselves what their form of government in the future should be. Ferdinand Barrot defended the rest of the prisoners with great eloquence. After he had concluded, the procurator-general summed up the case. When he ceased, Louis Napoleon made a few remarks, and the trial terminated. The court required some time to deliberate. Three days afterward the sentence was made known upon which they had determined. Louis Napoleon was condemned to imprisonment for life in a fortress situated within the French territory; Montholon, Pasquin, Lombard, and Persigny, to twenty years' imprisonment; Mesonan to fifteen years; Dr. Conneau to five years; and others to shorter periods. Four only out of nearly fifty persons were acquitted. The fortress selected as the long home of the chief conspirator, was the Castle of Ham, situated in the province of Picardy in the department of Somme, ninety miles north-east from Paris.

There can be but one opinion as to the extreme folly which characterized the conduct of Louis Napoleon in the affair of Boulogne. It has been urged in his defence that, like the attempt of Strasburg, it was forced upon him by the very necessities of his name, his nature, and his associations. Even if this position be granted; even if it be conceded that his aspiring disposition, and the glory of the great name

which he had inherited, urged him with irrepressible eagerness to seek the possession of superior power, he should have acted with greater circumspection ; he should not have moved until the ramifications of his conspiracy extended throughout all France ; until that conspiracy had become formidable in influence and members ; and until it bore some proportion in its power and resources to the power and resources of the government which it attempted to overturn. The movement was ridiculous and merited contempt, because its organization was such as to render its failure and the ruin of its agents, inevitable. The prince placed his life and fortunes on the cast of a die, and the chances against him were a thousand to one.

Louis Napoleon in after years himself severely condemned the enterprises both of Boulogne and Strasburg. In July, 1849, he visited Ham, when President of France ; and in the address which he then made to the municipal authorities of the town who received him, he said : " To-day, as by the choice of universal France, I have become the legitimate chief of this great nation, I cannot glorify myself for a captivity which was the result of an attack on a regular government. When we see how many evils even the most just revolutions bring in their train, we hardly know what to make of the audacious man who takes on himself the terrible responsibility of a change. I do not complain of having expiated here, by six years' imprisonment, a *rash attempt* against the laws of my native land."

Such a concession does little credit to its author. He knew just as well in 1840, as in 1849, that his conspiracy was rash, that it must lead to great evils and miseries, and that he deserved a penalty much more severe than he had received.

The attempts of Strasburg and Boulogne, though in both cases they covered their author with universal derision, and failed in accomplishing their intended object, may still be said to have been in some respects useful to the prospects of Louis Napoleon. They at least prevented him from being

forgotten both by the French people and by Europe. They gave him widely-extended notoriety. They even secured him what was of much more value, political consequence and importance. They caused his name and person to be recognized as the chief representatives of a great political principle and party, which, though not then sufficiently organized and consolidated as to render them successful in overturning the existing government in France, might possibly become so in the progress of time, and might occupy a place among the various vicissitudes to which the versatile, changeable, and excitable people of France were liable in the future. Viewed in this light, these ignominious failures were not entirely prejudicial to the interests of their author. Their influence on the events of the Revolution of 1848 may have been decisive. The unchanging devotion of the prince to the cause which he represented, may have won the admiration of France, ever prone to the glorification of Napoleonism. Without these movements he might have been forgotten, and the cause might have suffered under the most ruinous of all disadvantages, — the supposed absence and want of a great leader. The French people were taught to believe that, if Louis Napoleon was rash, foolish and precipitate, he was at the same time brave, chivalrous, and constant to the triumph of a noble enterprise, and the glory of an immortal name.

## CHAPTER VI.

Origin and History of the Fortress of Ham—Its situation and appearance—Louis Napoleon conveyed thither—His rigorous treatment—His Protest to the French Government—Removal of Napoleon's Remains from St. Helena—Louis Napoleon Writes and Publishes his "Historical Fragments;" his *Considerations sur la Question des Sucres*; his "Extinction of Pauperism"—The "*Canal Napoleon de Nicaragua*"—The Prince desires to visit his Dying Father—The Request Refused—He determines to Escape from Ham—The Astuteness and Ability of the Plan adopted—The Prince's Costume—He Leaves his Prison and evades the Scrutiny of the Guards—Adroitness of Thélan—The Prince reaches Valenciennes, Brussels, Ostend, England—The Skilful proceedings of Dr. Conneau—The Astonishment and Terror of the Commandant—The Prince refused Passports to Florence by the Tuscan Minister.

THE fortress of Ham, which was destined to be the abode of Louis Napoleon during six long and cheerless years, is one of the most interesting monuments of mediæval and feudal architecture in France. The name itself is probably derived or corrupted from the old Teutonic *heim*, signifying home; and the existence of the word can be traced as far back as the Frankish invasion. In the ninth century Ham was the capital of a small territory, known by the epithet *Hamois*. The founder of the family of Ham is supposed to have been Duke Simon, who lived in the latter portion of the tenth century. That family became extinct in the person of John IV., who died in 1375. The lordship of Ham has belonged, during the progress of successive centuries, to many illustrious families, among which have been those of Luxemburg, D'Enghien, Rohan, Navarre, and Vendome.

The fortress is surrounded by a town, which has been often taken and retaken during the many wars which have repeatedly desolated the country. In 1411 it was captured and

burned by the Duke of Burgundy. Luxemburg reduced it in 1423. The battle of St. Quentin, in 1557, placed it in the possession of the Spaniards. It was restored again to France by the treaty of Cambresis in 1558. Some portions of this fortress are very ancient. A wall still remains which, for a thousand years, has resisted the countless shocks and storms of time. But the larger part of the present castle dates from the year 1470, when the Duke of Luxemburg, then Constable of France, reared it upon the foundations of the preceding structure. Its great tower ascends to the height of a hundred feet; it is a hundred feet in diameter; and it boasts of walls thirty feet in thickness. Its master, on its completion, inscribed upon its loftiest battlement the words: *Mon Mieux*, My Best; as indicating the great confidence which he reposed in its strength and impregnability. Yet his boast was vain; for he was shortly afterward delivered by a stratagem into the hands of his offended king, Louis XI., and beheaded on the *Place de Grève*. The chief purpose to which the fortress has been appropriated in modern times, is that of a state-prison. Its most recent occupants of distinction, in addition to Louis Napoleon, have been Polignac, Peyronnet, and other ministers of Charles X., who, after the fall of their master in 1830 expiated within its walls some of their follies and their crimes.

The appearance of this fortress forcibly reminds the intelligent observer of the distant times of feudal tyranny and splendor. Its lofty battlements ascend far above the summit of the eminence on which they repose. Its shape is square, and its four angles are flanked with immense towers. It has but one entrance, which is in the north-eastern wall, and this is protected by a strong square tower. The ramparts are washed on the southern and eastern sides by the canal of St. Quentin, and the river Somme. Within the quadrangle two brick buildings of modern date serve both as barracks and as prisons. One of the latter is a low, miserable edifice, which is entirely overshadowed by the massive walls of the

battlements which surround it. Here it was that the discomfited hero of Strasburg and Boulogne was condemned to an imprisonment for life.

On the 7th of October, 1840, at midnight, the prince was ordered to enter a carriage, and under the escort of a colonel of the Municipal Guards, he was conveyed from Paris to his destined prison. The apartments assigned him were those which had been previously occupied by M. de Polignac. They were in a dilapidated condition, the ceiling was full of holes, the floor was uneven and broken, the doors and windows were rotten and unfit to exclude the severity of the weather. Repairs were absolutely necessary, and the government of Louis Philippe, after very considerable hesitation and difficulty, became strangely liberal, and allowed the sum of a hundred and twenty dollars to be appropriated to the improvement and embellishment of the abode of the representative of Napoleon! His daily expenses were fixed at the moderate sum of seven francs. M. Landenois, an officer whom the great Corsican had himself promoted at Montereau, regulated, and as much as possible curtailed the personal expenditure of the prince. The garrison consisted of four hundred men, sixty of whom were constantly on duty, watching the exterior as well as the interior of the fortress. In addition to these there were a large number of doorkeepers, turnkeys, and guards, to whom the care of the prison was particularly entrusted. The commandant of the fortress was M. de Marle. This individual, though polite and courteous, was a most vigilant and inexorable disciplinarian. He treated his prisoner with great politeness, but at the same time did his best to prevent his escape.

During the first few months of Louis Napoleon's captivity he was very closely and rigidly watched. He was allowed, at stated times, to walk on the ramparts through a space forty yards in length and twenty in breadth. During this interval he was attended by numerous sentinels at a distance, and a special keeper constantly followed him closely at his heels.



He was allowed to retain, as his *valet de chambre*, his favorite body-servant, Charles Thélin, who had attended him during his whole life. This person was as closely imprisoned as if he himself had been condemned for some grave offence. The soldiers were forbidden, on pain of four days' confinement in the guard-house, to honor the prince with the military salute; yet it deserves to be noted that sometimes they braved the threatened penalty, and not seldom the subdued sound of *Vive l'Empereur!* was heard from their ranks. Strange as it may seem, the very same soldiers to whom the custody and defence of the fortress were then entrusted belonged to the forty-sixth regiment of the line, which had been present and had taken part in the conspiracy of Strasburg.

But soon the fears which the government entertained of the man to whom they alone had given importance, became magnified, and the treatment which he received in his prison-house was more rigorous. To such an extreme was this severity carried, that it drew from Louis Napoleon a protest, in which he speaks as follows:

“During the first months of my captivity every kind of communication from without was forbidden, and within I was kept in the most rigorous confinement. Since, however, several persons have been admitted to communicate with me, these internal restrictions can have no longer an object; and yet it is precisely since they have become useless that they are more rigorously enforced.

“All the provisions for the supply of my daily wants are subjected to the most rigid scrutiny.

“The attentions of my single faithful servant, who has been permitted to follow me, are encumbered with obstacles of every description. Such a system of terror has been established in the garrison and among the officers in the castle, that no individual dares raise his eyes towards me; and it requires even extraordinary boldness to be commonly polite.

“How can it be otherwise, when the simplest civility of look is regarded as a crime, and when all those who would

wish to soften the rigors of my position, without failing in their duty, are threatened with being denounced to the authorities, and with losing their places. In the midst of this France, which the head of my family has made so great, I am treated like an excommunicated person in the thirteenth century. Every one flies at my approach, and all fear my touch, as if my breath were infectious.

“This insulting inquisition, which pursues me into my very chamber, which follows my footsteps when I breathe the fresh air in a retired corner of the fort, is not limited to my person alone, but is extended even to my thoughts. My letters to my family, the effusions of my heart, are submitted to the strictest scrutiny.”

In consequence of this appeal some of the rigors of his captivity were softened. His *valet*, Thélin, was permitted to visit the town of Ham, and execute such commissions for his master as he might desire. The prince was allowed to receive the visits of those who wished to pay him their respects. Among these, on several occasions, it may be proper to mention, was the beautiful and heroic Madame Gordon, whose admiration of the prince and whose devotion to his cause, had not been diminished either by the lapse of time, or by the vicissitudes of fortune.

The effect which confinement produced on the mind of Louis Napoleon, was a very beneficial one. It compelled him to revert to those habits of study which had formerly occupied him. He divided his time between writing, reading, gardening, and his exercises. After rising in the morning he studied till ten o'clock. Then he breakfasted. After breakfast he walked half an hour on the parapet of the fortress. Then he devoted some time to the cultivation of the flowers which he had planted in some earth along the ramparts. He thus thought himself another Picciola; and was more fortunate than that captive, because his flowers and vegetables were undisturbed by his jailors. After an hour spent in tending his garden, he returned to his apartment, wrote letters,

studied and read until dinner. After dinner he engaged in conversation with his companions in captivity; and the evening was passed in the game of whist, in which General Montholon, Dr. Conneau, the prince, and the commandant of the fortress took part. It was amusing to see the brave and stern Cerberus who guarded with great severity and rigor every outlet of the castle during the day, after having locked up everybody and everything for the night, put his keys in his pocket, throw off his fierce visage, repair to the apartment of the prince, and spend the evening with him in the most cordial and friendly conviviality.

On the 30th of November, 1840, the ashes of Napoleon touched the soil of France. On the 15th of the following month they were deposited with ceremonies of gorgeous magnificence, with martial and funereal splendor, beneath the sublime dome of the *Hotel des Invalides*. The Parisians were wild, as is their wont, with insane enthusiasm and rapture, without being able to give a rational cause or reason for their frenzy. In the solitude of his prison Louis Napoleon penned a rhapsody on the Emperor's return to France, which requires a very great stretch of poetical license to render either tolerable or intelligible.

But the restless captive found his most congenial and satisfactory pursuits in study. He wrote occasional communications for the *Propagateur du Pas-de-Calais*, a newspaper edited by his friend De George. In May, 1841, he published his "Historical Fragments." The object of this work was to controvert the position assumed by M. Guizot in his *History of the English Revolution*, that there was a close and complete parallel between that Revolution in 1688, and the French Revolution of 1830; that William of Orange resembled Louis Philippe in his aims and purposes, and even in his character; and that as the English consolidated their liberties by accepting and authorizing the foreign prince, so also would the French, by forever adhering to the younger and intrusive branch of the house of Bourbon. There never

was a greater absurdity uttered, than that defended in this parallel of Guizot. As was Hyperion to a satyr, such was William of Orange to Louis Philippe; and the task of Louis Napoleon in exposing the fallacy of the ridiculous and preposterous position of the minion of the money-bag king, was very easy. He clearly showed that there was the utmost diversity of character and conduct between the two monarchs, both before and after their accession to the throne. Nor is it easy to discover a more lamentable instance in which great talents have been basely prostituted to the defence and glorification of the most ignoble and unworthy objects, than the devotion of Guizot to the fortunes, the fame, and the person of Louis Philippe.

The prince sent a copy of his *Historical Fragments* to the literary veteran, Chateaubriand; and received from him the following reply :

“PRINCE: In the midst of your misfortunes, you have studied with as much sagacity as power the causes of a revolution which, in modern Europe, has opened the way to the calamities of monarchy. Your love of liberty, your courage, and your sufferings, would give you every claim in my eyes, only that to be worthy of your esteem, I must remain as faithful to the misfortunes of Henry V. as I am to the glory of Napoleon.

“Allow me, prince, to thank you for the extreme honor you have done me in quoting my name in your fine work. This precious testimony of your recollection penetrates me with the most lively gratitude.”

In 1842 Louis Napoleon published his *Considerations sur la Question des Sucres*, or Analysis of the Sugar Question. The object of this book was to convince the French government and people of the importance of encouraging the manufacture of domestic sugar from the beet-root, by increasing the tariff on the colonial and foreign sugar produced from the cane. He examines the whole subject both as a chemist, as a political economist, and as a statesman, and

discusses fully the various conflicting interests of the citizens of the metropolis, of the colonists, of the producers, of the consumers, and of the treasury.

The next production of the prince was the *L'Extinction de la Paupérisme*. The object of this work was to suggest plans for the relief and happiness of the suffering and destitute classes of society, and to propose the most efficient methods of extending the advantages of civilization to those who are deprived of them. This work displays considerable power of thought and reflection. It was adapted to secure the favor of the working classes in the capital and throughout France, among whom, in a cheap form, it was gratuitously distributed in immense numbers at a subsequent period. After the publication of this work, the prince commenced another, entitled: "The Past and Future of Artillery." He intended to complete it in five large volumes, accompanied with engravings; and he was engaged upon its composition when other matters of more immediate and pressing importance suspended his labors.

The publication of these different works attracted a considerable degree of attention to their author. His reputation was not confined to the limits of his native country. We do not suppose that his writings, had they emanated from a person possessing an obscure and unknown name, would have gained for the author much reputation, or any eminence in the republic of letters. Like thousands of other works marked by a moderate share of ability which are yearly issued from the press, they would have had an ephemeral importance, and would then probably have been forgotten. Thus his "Ideas of Napoleonism" was but little read or noticed on its first publication, and long continued to lay dead and unknown; but after its author had mounted the imperial throne, the work was suddenly discovered to possess extraordinary profundity and value.

One of the consequences of the publication of the prince's writings was that Señor Castellan, the minister of the States

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of Central America to the Court of Louis Philippe, invited Louis Napoleon, in 1844, in case his liberty was again restored to him, to pass the rest of his life in that country. He was also requested to superintend the construction of a railroad or ship-canal, which had been projected across the isthmus of Darien, and thus to unite together the two oceans. Señor Castellan visited the prince in his prison and conferred with him on the subject. The latter was pleased with the idea, and would have acquiesced in the proposal, and placed himself at the head of the enterprise. A few months later, he was officially informed by the government of Nicaragua, that he had been elected president of the proposed company, and that the work itself should be named in his honor, the *Canal Napoleone de Nicaragua*. Señor de Marcoleta, *Charge d'Affairs* of Nicaragua to Belgium and Holland visited the prince at Ham, according to the instructions of his government, and concluded a treaty or contract with the prince, conferring on him full powers to act as head of the enterprise, and definitely settling all the details of the business; but he was never destined to accomplish the task. In August, 1845, the health of his father, the ex-king of Holland, began to decline; and he desired to have his only remaining son near his person during his last hours. Louis Napoleon had now been a captive during five years, and as there was no prospect of his speedy release, his father sent M. Poggioli, a confidential agent, to Paris, to lay before the ministers of Louis Philippe the request that his son might be permitted to join him. The matter was proposed to Marshal Soult, President of the Council; to Guizot, Minister of Foreign Affairs; to Duchatel, Minister of the Interior. The prince himself sent a letter to the last named minister, preferring the same request, and promising solemnly that if he were permitted to go to Florence, the residence of "his father," he would return again to his prison at any moment the government might direct him so to do.

Louis Napoleon was informed by M. Duchatel that the

favor which he requested was in substance a pardon, and a pardon could only emanate from the clemency of the king. The prince accordingly addressed a letter directly to Louis Philippe on the 14th of January, 1846, which was presented to his majesty by the son of Marshal Ney, now known as the Prince of Moscow. The king pretended to acquiesce; but the ministers insisted that, before the permission was granted the prince should acknowledge his faults, and that the pardon should be conferred and received as an act of grace. In other words, an attempt was made by Louis Philippe both to gain the popularity which the pardon of the prince would secure him, and at the same time to humble and degrade him as a self-confessed criminal, and obtain, in substance, a direct renunciation on his part of all claim or pretension to the throne of France. This renunciation the prince was unwilling to make; nor was he disposed to incur the ignominy which any acknowledgment of former guilt on his part would entail upon him. He replied with great propriety, that he had resolved to die in prison rather than make any acknowledgment which would degrade his character, or would injure the prospects and compromise the rights of the cause which he represented. He asserted that for six years he had endured without complaint the rigors of a penalty which he had incurred by his faithful devotion to that cause; and he possessed still the consolation of knowing that his honor was untarnished. His duty to his father urged him to hasten to his bedside. He had done everything in his power honorably to obtain his enlargement, and permission to perform that duty. Having failed in obtaining that permission, he was completely justified and excused.

The time had now arrived when the prince determined to obtain his freedom, if possible, by other means. His plan was to elude the vigilance of his keepers and escape. Some repairs which were being made in the castle of Ham at that period, fortunately furnished an opportunity for the exercise of adroitness and resolution, in the planning and execution of the scheme. The excuse urged by the prince to his confidants

for attempting his escape was that he might attend the sick bed of his father. But we believe this to have been merely a pretended reason: Louis Napoleon well knew that the ex-king of Holland was probably not his father; and the fact that he did not really pay the least regard to his alleged parent, after his escape from the fortress had been effected,—the fact that he immediately directed his steps not toward Florence but toward London, clearly proves that he had no sincere desire to visit the former husband of Hortense, with whom, during her lifetime, she had been constantly and bitterly at variance.

The prince arranged his method of escape with his astute companion in captivity, Dr. Conneau, and he was materially aided by his faithful *valet-de-chambre*, Charles Thélin. The prince was to pretend to be ill, to keep his bed for several days; while the doctor exercised his anatomical ingenuity in fabricating the figure of a false prince, which was destined to play an important part in the events which were about to transpire.

In truth the plot was devised and executed with much ability; and the conduct of Louis Napoleon on this occasion affords the first glimmer or exhibition of those superior powers of combination and of arrangement which afterward characterized his life, and ensured his subsequent successes. The secret of all his triumphs has been, and is, his long, careful, concentrated study and pre-arrangement of the details of any attempt. When he *thus* labors to bring about any result, he succeeds. Whenever, on the contrary, he acts upon impulse, he inevitably fails. He possesses none of the brilliant, rapid, resistless and decisive genius of the great Napoleon, who accomplished wonders by bold and sudden movements, upon which no other man would have ventured. Louis Napoleon's talents fit him to excel in careful and elaborate planning, in mysterious and impenetrable secrecy, in unwavering perseverance and determination. Strasburg and Boulogne were instances of his sudden and impulsive



action, and they were ignominious failures. His escape from Ham and the *coup d'état*, were exhibitions of his capacity for cautious and elaborate plotting; and they were signal and magnificent triumphs. Another illustration of the latter description was his agency in bringing about the Crimean war, whose final issue also added to his celebrity, and served to consolidate his power.

The escape of Louis Napoleon from the fortress of Ham was aided by the fact that the commandant and his soldiers had gradually imbibed the impression that the prisoner did not wish to escape. Three keepers were charged with the immediate surveillance of his person. Two of these were always stationed at the bottom of the stairs which were the immediate outlet to his apartments. One of these keepers, at an early hour in the morning, was usually absent from his post for a quarter of an hour to procure the daily newspapers. No person was allowed to enter the fortress, and the utmost scrutiny was exercised over every one who wished to go out. A total disguise alone would enable the prisoner to escape; and that was the expedient which he determined to adopt. He proposed to assume the garb of one of the workmen who were then repairing the fortress, and to pass out with them.

All the arrangements were completed by Saturday, May 23d, 1846; but the execution of them was postponed until Monday the 25th. Shortly after five o'clock in the morning the draw-bridge was lowered, and the workmen entered the fortress between two files of soldiers. They were not as numerous as usual, and there were no joiners among them. This was unfortunate, as it was in the garb of a joiner that the prisoner intended to attempt his escape. Early in the morning, he, Dr. Conneau and Thélin had risen, and the prince was then attired in his borrowed dress. His height was increased four inches by inserting high-heeled boots into his *sabots* or wooden shoes, while the legs of his trousers concealed the deception. His moustaches were cut off, every preparation

was made, his disguise was complete, and as he had determined not to be taken alive, he furnished himself with offensive and defensive weapons. He retained on his person the most valuable relic which he possessed. This was a letter written by the Emperor Napoleon to Hortense, in which he expresses his interest in the future fate of the prince, and his confidence in his excellent qualities. He drew over his usual dress grey pantaloons, a coarse linen shirt cut off at the waist, and a blouse, which had been purposely soiled. To these were added an old blue linen apron, a wig of long black hair, and a soiled cap. His hands and face were then stained red. He loosened one of the long shelves of his library and hoisted it on his shoulders, to aid in the deception.

At length at fifteen minutes before seven the prince issued from his chamber. He immediately descended the stairs, at the bottom of which the two keepers were posted. Thélin accompanied him, and as they approached the keepers he drew one of them aside pretending to have something to say to him privately. The other keeper drew back to avoid the plank which the prince carried. The fugitive thus passed through the wicket. He then entered the court-yard. When passing through this, he was met by several persons, both soldiers and workmen, some of whom eyed him closely; but so complete was his disguise that they failed to identify or even to suspect him. Having arrived at the great gate, the keeper's attention was attracted by Thélin who was playing boisterously with *Ham*, the prince's dog, which he led in a leash. The bolt was drawn, the prisoner passed through the gate, and it was closed behind him. Thélin continued his conversation with the keeper, and after a few minutes thus employed, he also passed out. The prince took the road along the ramparts which joins the high road to St. Quentin, whilst Thélin hastened into the village of Ham to procure the carriage which he had engaged on the previous evening. The prince hastened on to the cemetery of St. Sulpice, two miles distant

from the fortress, at which he had appointed to meet his faithful *valet* with the means of conveyance.

Thélin having arrived at the designated place, the prince threw his plank into a cornfield, kicked off his *sabots* into a ditch, jumped into the vehicle, took the reins, and began to drive at a rapid pace. They travelled quickly over the fifteen miles which separate Ham from St. Quentin. The horses were changed several times at the post-houses, but no recognition took place. As they approached St. Quentin the prince divested himself of his old trousers, blouse, and cap, retaining the wig, and left the carriage in order to pass around the town on foot, avoid the scrutiny to which he would have there been subjected, and meet Thélin, provided with fresh horses, on the Cambray road. They reached Valenciennes at two o'clock. Here their passport was examined. They there awaited the train of cars which started at four o'clock for Brussels. The interval of suspense seemed endless, and had the prince's escape been discovered in time at Ham, it would have proved fatal. But that discovery was not made so soon; the prince and his attendant safely reached Brussels; thence they hastened to Ostend; and thence they journeyed to England.

The fact of the prince's escape was concealed at the fortress in the following manner. Dr. Conneau, immediately after the departure of the prince, placed the stuffed figure in his bed with its wax face turned toward the wall. He then closed the door leading from the prince's chamber into the saloon, and kindled a large fire, in order to keep up the illusion that the prince was ill. He deposited the coffee-pot on the stove, and told the servant, La Place, that the prince was sick. At nine o'clock the commandant of the fortress, De Marle, came to the saloon and inquired for the prince. Dr. Conneau replied that he was ill, and that unless the commandant had something of importance to say, it would be better not to disturb him. The commandant put his head inside the door of the bed-chamber, saw the figure lying in bed, and concluded that all was right. Dr. Conneau then

took an emetic, which the physician of the castle had ordered for the patient, performed the consequent functions, and by the odor which was produced in the apartment, confirmed the general deception as to the real illness of the supposed prince.

At twelve o'clock the commandant returned to Louis Napoleon's apartment, and inquired after his health. Dr. Conneau replied that he was now somewhat easier. He was satisfied and again retired. At two o'clock he paid a third visit to the apartments of his prisoner. This time Dr. Conneau informed him that the prince had just taken a bath, and was then enjoying a refreshing slumber. The generous Cerberus refused to disturb his captive under such agreeable circumstances, and again retired. But when evening came he made his last call for the day; he inquired after the prince's health, and was gravely informed by the doctor that he was still reposing after the emetic and the bath. The commandant began to be surprised, and to think that he had certainly taken under his charge one of the seven sleepers of Ephesus. "I *must* speak to him," he exclaimed. "O, let him quietly sleep on," responded the doctor, who by a great effort retained a sober countenance. The commandant then opened the door of the chamber and called to the prince. The prince, very naturally, made no response. The commandant immediately approached the bed, gazed into the recumbent wax face, punched the stuffed figure in the ribs, and discovered at last, with horror and amazement, that the bird had flown. "When did the prince escape?" he demanded of Dr. Conneau. "At seven o'clock this morning," was the answer. "Who were the persons on guard?" "I don't know," replied the doctor; at the same time giving vent to his long-subdued risibility by a vast thunder-clap of laughter. The unhappy commandant, overwhelmed with chagrin and terror, turned away and rapidly left the apartment. His wife fainted on hearing of the prince's escape. The news flew like the wind throughout the castle, and throughout the village; the country in every direction was instantly searched; expresses

were dispatched to the railway and police stations. But all was in vain. Too much time had been gained by the fugitive through the plausible representations of the faithful and adroit Conneau.

On the prince's arrival in London he applied for passports from the representative of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, permitting him to visit his father at Florence. They were denied him; and the Grand Duke afterward informed the ex-King of Holland that "French influence" would not permit him to tolerate the presence of Louis Napoleon in Florence even for twenty-four hours. The ex-King expired soon afterward, without again seeing Louis Napoleon, whom in his latter years he pretended to regard as his son !

## CHAPTER VII.

Interview of the Prince with Count d'Orsay — Lady Douglass — Death of the ex-King of Holland — The *Melanges Politiques* — History of the Downfall of Louis Philippe — State of Parties in France — The Monster Banquets — Popular Tumults — M. Mollé — The New Ministry of Thiers — Delusion of the King — His Flight from Paris — Establishment of the Provisional Government — Letters of Louis Napoleon to the Provisional Government — His Return to London — He is elected a Representative by Four Departments — His Letters to the Electors and to the Assembly — He sends in his Resignation as Representative to the Assembly — Popular Tumults — Cavaignac appointed Dictator — Louis Napoleon re-elected Representative by Five Departments — His Appearance in the Assembly — His Speech — Decree of Banishment against the Bonapartes annulled.

IMMEDIATELY on his arrival in London the fugitive prince repaired to Gore House, the residence of Count d'Orsay. The count was not always easy of access. He was one of those lavish, expensive and ostentatious persons who are continually favored with the visits of tradesmen, bailiffs, and other similarly pertinacious and obtrusive individuals, who sometimes bestow the honor and the felicity of their company where they are not wanted. Accordingly, when informed by his *valet* that a stranger desired to be admitted, whose appearance was not very prepossessing, and who refused to give his name, the perfumed count sent back word that the mysterious individual *must positively* go away, inasmuch as he would not see him. As soon as the prince received this answer, he perceived the nature of the joke, and sent the servant back to say that he had called on business of importance, and that he was determined to see the count. This message only increased the consternation of the nobleman; and he inquired more particularly as to the appearance of the visitor. The *valet's* description intimated that he was a foreigner; and other de-

tails led to the opinion that he might be Louis Napoleon. With this conviction on his mind, the count ventured to protrude his head through the door of the ante-room, in order to reconnoitre at a safe distance. He at once recognized his quondam friend, and rushing out heartily received and embraced him.

A few days after his arrival in London the prince visited his cousin, Lady Douglass, now the Duchess of Hamilton. She said to him: "Well, you are free at last. Will you now be quiet? Will you lay aside those fallacies which have cost you so dear, and the cruel delusions of those dreams which have given those who love you so much anxiety?" The prince responded: "My dear cousin, I do not belong to myself; I belong to my name and my country. It is because my fortune has twice betrayed me, that my destiny is nearer its accomplishment. I bide my time!" This remark illustrates the constancy of hope and confidence which has characterized Louis Napoleon during his whole lifetime.

After the prince's escape from Ham, his father, the ex-King of Holland, and Count of St. Leu, having died at Florence, in his will he expressed a desire that his remains might be buried in the village of St. Leu, near Paris, from which he took his title. Said he: "I have borne the name of that village for forty years, and I liked the place better than any other in the world." His desire was complied with. A guard of honor, consisting of the veteran soldiers of the empire, attended the funeral solemnities. The concourse of citizens was also large. Louis Napoleon addressed a letter afterward to Captain Le Comte, the officer who commanded the military on that occasion, thanking him for his interest and activity during the obsequies.

The prince was destined to sojourn as an exile in England for a year and a half. He there readily made himself at home. He had many personal friends, who had not forgotten him during six years of absence and captivity. Mrs. Howard still flourished in the metropolis, and she still

retained her attachment to the fortunes and the person of the prince. He renewed his connection with her; and having nothing else wherewith to occupy his mind, he devoted himself to the mingled excitement of pleasure and study.

The fruit of his intellectual diversions was his work entitled *Melanges Politiques*. This book displays the same qualities as those which characterized his previous productions. He now seemed to have come to the deliberate conclusion, that notwithstanding his repeated failures, and the long postponement of his hopes, the day of their realization was rapidly approaching. He believed that the downfall of Louis Philippe would soon take place; and he believed rightly. French governments in modern times, and since the downfall of the ancient monarchy, never last longer than sixteen or seventeen years. Seventeen years were the limit of the supremacy of Napoleon I. Seventeen years the restored Bourbons reigned. Seventeen years Louis Philippe occupied the throne. *And we may safely predict that seventeen years will be the longest period allotted by the hand of Destiny to the restored dynasty of the Bonapartes.* The parallel may seem absurd, but it is based on solid reasons, and deduced from rational inferences.

The various causes which led to the downfall of the money-bag-king, Louis Philippe, need not here be narrated in much detail. The "Napoleon of Peace" had gradually lost the confidence of the French nation. They perceived that he ruled, not with the slightest design to promote their welfare, but wholly for the aggrandizement of himself and his family; that he was greedily heaping up riches by the million; that he was continually purchasing principalities and lordships; that he was marrying off his children into all the available royal families of the continent; that he was constantly curtailing liberty; that he had so far corrupted the Chamber of Deputies that they had become the most abject and fawning of slaves; that the new fortifications of Paris were in reality only the defences of the court and the palace; that the elective franchise of the nation had been turned into a farce; in



a word, that Louis Philippe had proved himself to be one of the most selfish, unprincipled and detestable tyrants of modern times.

The people began to murmur, and their murmurings were uttered, not at "monster meetings," which were forbidden by law, but at monster banquets, which the law could not forbid. At these banquets the king's health was always carefully and insultingly omitted in the list of toasts. The nation was then divided into *three* parties. The first was the Legitimists, who adored the elder branch of the Bourbons; who still upheld the divine right of the house of Capet, and of the ancient monarchy; and who detested the house of Orleans as intruders and usurpers. Their organ was the *Gazette de France*, edited by Genoude, and supported in the Chamber by Berryer. The second party were the Republicans. These were divided into two branches, the Moderate and the Extreme. The Moderate Republicans were represented by the *National*, edited by Marrast; the views of the Extreme were set forth in the *Reforme*, conducted by Flocon. Their mouth-piece in the Chamber was Ledru Rollin. The third party was the Liberal or Constitutional, whose journal was *La Presse*, and whose leader was Odillon Barrot. All these parties now united in repudiating the policy and government of Louis Philippe, and those of his ministers. Of the latter, Guizot was simply a philosopher and a man of letters, utterly unfit to conduct the practical interests and affairs of the nation. Duchatel was a practical man of business, skilful, unprincipled, and adroit; but his adroitness had gained for him only the distrust and the apprehensions of the nation.

This distrust and apprehension had been chiefly expressed at the monster banquets, which had begun to be popular. When Louis Philippe opened the Chamber of Deputies in December, 1847, he gave utterance to his feelings and charged those members of the Chamber who had attended these banquets with being hostile to royalty, to the best interests of the nation, and with being blind to the serious results

which might follow. After the conclusion of the royal speech a violent debate ensued. M. Thiers, the orator of the opposition, led off; Odillon Barrot followed with equal fervor and ability. Ledru Rollin then spoke with a degree of eloquence and power which at once placed him in the first rank of speakers in the Chamber. The result was that Louis Philippe began to tremble on his throne. A great banquet was announced for the 22d of February, to which all the deputies of the opposition, magistrates, members of the municipal government, and delegates from the colleges and schools were invited, to the number of fifteen hundred persons. They were to assemble first in the *Place de la Concorde*, and proceed thence to the banquet.

This banquet was prohibited by a decree of the government; orders were issued to the commander of the National Guard to forbid their attendance even as spectators; and the garrison of Paris was increased to a hundred thousand men, by immediately summoning a large number of soldiers from Vincennes, and other fortresses in the vicinity of the capital. On Tuesday, the day appointed for the prohibited banquet, all Paris was in a state of fermentation. Immense crowds hurried along the streets, and the everlasting *Marseillaise* was heard echoing and re-echoing in every direction. "Down with Guizot!" was shouted on all sides. A strong body of troops had been drawn, by this time, around the Tuilleries; and although some barricades were erected by the people between Rue St. Denis and Rue St. Martin, Tuesday passed over without anything of importance transpiring. During the ensuing night, however, the factions were not idle; but an intense activity prevailed. On Wednesday the excitement which pervaded the capital became more intense and universal. Crowds streamed toward the *Champs Elysées*, and the Boulevards were filled with people, whom even the deluge of rain which fell could not disperse. At this crisis the government proposed to make some concessions, and M. Molé was called to the head of the cabinet. The Duke de Montpensier also

offered to send to the Chambers a project of electoral reform, and another for parliamentary reform. The formation of a new ministry was announced to the excited Parisians, and Louis Philippe and M. Molé attempted to devise new measures, and conditions for the cabinet. During Wednesday no further decisive movements were made by the populace; but the king and M. Molé could not agree upon the terms and arrangements necessary for the construction of the government, and in despair, Louis Philippe at length sent for M. Thiers. Thiers agreed to undertake the formation of another ministry, provided Odillon Barrot became a member of it. The king agreed to everything, entirely overwhelmed by terror and confusion. Thiers wrote the following proclamation, which was published in the public journals, and was placarded in large bills over the city: "Citizens of Paris, orders are given everywhere to cease firing.—We have just received the commands of the king to form a new ministry. The chamber is to be dissolved. An appeal is to be made to the country. General Lamoricière is appointed commander-in-chief of the National Guard of Paris. MM. Thiers, Barrot, and Duvergier de Hauranne, are appointed ministers. Liberty, Order, and Reform."

Nobody paid the least attention to this proclamation of M. Thiers. At four o'clock in the morning of the 24th, Louis Philippe, overcome with fatigue, retired to his chamber to sleep, confident that the appointment of a new and more popular ministry would appease the frenzied Parisians. It was a delusive hope. He then laid down upon his royal bed for the last time. Little did he then imagine that the sun should rise on him as king no more! At eleven o'clock in the forenoon he came down stairs again, refreshed with slumber, with a smiling countenance, and in a negligent dress, to partake of a family breakfast. He then learned to his astonishment and terror that all Paris was in commotion; that the National Guards had fraternized with the insurgents; that the proclamation of Thiers was everywhere torn down and trodden

under foot; that his Palais Royal had been assaulted and plundered; and that the ruin of his throne and dynasty became each instant more imminent. He retired to his chamber, and putting on the uniform of the National Guard, he mounted his horse, and hastened to the Place du Carrousal to review the troops collected there. A few shouts of *Vive le Roi* were heard as he approached; but these were totally overwhelmed by the innumerable yells of "*Vive la Reforme!*" The king soon returned again to the palace, utterly at a loss what to do. Summoning his new cabinet, he consulted with them. At that moment Emile Girardin, the editor of *La Presse*, opened the door of the apartment and entered. He informed the king respectfully, that unless he immediately abdicated, the throne would be overturned, and his whole family be exiled or destroyed. After some hesitation the king signed a proclamation, containing in four lines the following announcements: The abdication of the king, the regency of the Duchess of Orleans, the dissolution of the chamber, and a general amnesty. He added at the close: "I abdicate in favor of my grandson, the Count of Paris"

The king now retired to his chamber, and exchanged his uniform for a citizen's dress. He had already taken the resolution to flee; for all Paris resounded with the explosion of fire-arms, some public buildings were already burning, and the palace was surrounded by an infuriated mob, whose excesses none could anticipate or control. As the king rose to withdraw, the Duchess of Orleans wished to follow him; but he prevented her, declaring that she must remain for the sake of her son, in whose favor he had abdicated. Bursting into tears, the terrified Duchess was compelled to obey. Afterward when she and the Count of Paris were presented to the Chamber of Deputies for their recognition and acknowledgment, she was informed that it was too late to propose or accept such an arrangement, and that the Orleans dynasty had absolutely and completely ceased to reign in France.

But the fugitive king, escaping from his palace by a remote gateway, entered a hackney-coach, drove rapidly through the most obscure streets, and left forever a capital raging with excitement, and filled with detestation of his person and his measures. Scarcely had he quitted the Tuilleries, when a crowd of desperate republicans, headed by Dumoyer, forced their way into it, and instantly defaced and removed all the traces and emblems of royalty which existed there, including the throne and its canopy. Had they found the monarch himself, it is not improbable that he would have paid for his money-bags with his life. But he escaped their fury; and after a rapid journey, he safely reached the shores of England. While the king was making the best of his way toward Calais, the excited Chambers were discussing the establishment of a new government. Lamartine, Ledru Rollin, Marrast and others, addressed the legislature; and the long and stormy session ended in the establishment of a Republic, with a provisional government, of which the members were Lamartine, Arago, Dupont de l'Eure, Marie, Garnier Pagés, Ledru Rollin, Cremieux, Flocon, Marrast, and Louis Blanc.

The utmost excitement pervaded England when information was received of this great and sudden revolution; and fears were apprehended of a similar convulsion in that country. The Chartists began to move, to assemble in the open air, to make furious speeches, and to offer interminable petitions to Parliament. Trafalgar Square and Kennington Common became the scenes of these threatening and blustering demonstrations. The government, to prevent further harm, enlisted an immense number of special constables. Among these important personages Louis Napoleon took his place, and helped to preserve the peace and integrity of the British empire. It was quite unnecessary; for the poor and miserable of the London population soon settled down again in imbecile and starving quietude, while the wealthy and comfortable went on revelling in luxury as before.

In the formation of the new Provisional Government the

utmost care was taken by those whom the sudden force of circumstances had elevated to power, to exclude everything like Bonapartism. Very soon after the flight of Louis Philippe from Paris, Louis Napoleon proceeded to that city, accompanied by Dr. Conneau and a few other friends. On his arrival the partisans of the Bonapartes surrounded him, among whom were Montholon, Persigny, Voisin, old Jerome Bonaparte and his son, Prince Napoleon. What their secret deliberations may have been, is unknown; but Louis Napoleon, soon after his arrival, sent the following letter to Lamartine, the Minister of Foreign Affairs: "*Messieurs*:—The heroic people of Paris having destroyed the last vestiges of foreign invasion, I hasten from my exile to place myself under the banner of the republic just proclaimed. With no other ambition than that of serving my country, I come to announce my arrival to the members of the Provisional Government, and to assure them of my devotion to the cause which they represent, as well as of my sympathy for themselves. Accept, *Messieurs*, the assurance of my sentiments."

There was no necessity whatever for Louis Napoleon to announce to the Provisional Government, whose members were overwhelmed with other and more important duties, his arrival in Paris. This letter was in reality an attempt to give himself consequence; and the result was, as perhaps it should have been, an immediate order to the prince, whose devotion to their cause, and whose sympathy for themselves, were not wanted or believed, to leave Paris within twenty-four hours. Had Louis Napoleon kept himself quiet, it is probable that he had been forgotten by the government, and might have plotted on in secret with more celerity and success. In truth, a proposition was made in the assemblage of ministers, to arrest the conspirator of Strasburg and Boulogne, and confine him again in Ham, as being a measure which the security of the state demanded. But Lamartine opposed this measure as an odious act of persecution, and at the same time as impolitic; for such a proceeding would only give its victim

greater consequence, and increase the number and activity of his friends.

Louis Napoleon at first hesitated as to the course which he should pursue at this crisis. Some of his advisers wished him to withdraw to some garrison-city, and there raise again the standard of rebellion against the existing government. But after some deliberation he wisely concluded that such a demonstration would end, as the previous attempts had ended, in failure; and he determined to withdraw for the present to England. He announced his resolution to the government in the following letter: "*Messieurs*:—After thirty-three years of exile and persecution, I thought I had acquired the right of finding a home on the soil of my country. You deem my presence in Paris at this moment a subject of embarrassment. I withdraw then for a time. You will see in this sacrifice the purity of my intentions and my patriotism. Receive, *Messieurs*, the assurance of my deep sympathy and esteem."

The prince accordingly returned to London, but Persigny remained in Paris for the purpose of organizing the Napoleonic party in the very heart of the young republic. This man was well adapted to the performance of this task. He was eloquent, skilful, prudent, energetic, and courageous. He became at once the soul of the faction. He founded a secret Napoleonic committee, which soon extended its ramifications throughout the whole of France, under whose direction devoted and active agents were sent into every city, town, and village, preparing the country for the return of the reign of Napoleonism in the person of the absent prince. By the diffusion of pictures, busts, and sketches of the Great Corsican; by innumerable pamphlets and popular books; by speeches, poems, satires on the Bourbons and the Jacobins; by every possible contrivance, Napoleonism was diffused throughout the nation, and hints given of future decisive developments to be made in its favor.

The first fruits of these labors were seen in the election of

Pierre Napoleon, the son of Lucien, and Prince Napoleon, as representatives of the people in the Assembly. Louis Napoleon, although invited to become a candidate, refused until the decree was formally abrogated which banished the Bonaparte family from France. Prince Lucien Murat was at the same time chosen representative for the department of Lot.

On the 4th of May, 1848, the Constituent Assembly held its first session. The provisional government then expired, and the Assembly elected a committee of five to administer the government, until a definite establishment of power was made. The committee were Arago, Garnier Pagés, Marie, Lamartine, and Ledru Rollin. A petition was soon presented to the Assembly signed by twenty of its members, demanding that the law banishing the Bonapartes from France should be abrogated. Before this matter was definitely settled, Louis Napoleon was elected, on the 3d of June, a representative of the people in four departments at once. One of these was the department of the Seine, including the city of Paris, in which the prince received eighty-five thousand votes. The other departments were the Yonne, Charente-Inferieure, and Corsica. Thus, for the first time, in the progress of his adventurous life, did the exiled prince begin to gain the halo of success; his star so long lingering beneath the horizon now began to appear dimly above its verge, and to commence that slow but sure ascent, which was destined to end at last by a glorious and triumphant culmination at the zenith.

The election of Louis Napoleon at once terrified the existing government. They determined that he should not sit in the Assembly. Orders were given for his arrest, should he be found anywhere in the French territory. It was asserted by his enemies in the Assembly that the prince was not a French citizen; that he was a pretender to the fallen throne; that the people had no right to elect as representative a man who was not a citizen, and who, by his imperial aspirations



was necessarily a traitor to the Republic. Lamartine proposed a decree in the ~~Assembly re-asserting~~ the law of the 16th of April, 1832, banishing Louis Napoleon from the French territory, which decree was passed amid loud shouts of *Vive la Republique!*

On the 13th of June, the Assembly was called on to decide upon the validity of the elections which had resulted in the choice of Louis Napoleon. The debate was very violent. The friends of the prince defended him with ability. Able speeches were made by Ledru Rollin, Vieillard, Bonjean, and others. The result was that the Assembly did not dare to trample under foot the will of so many departments, the election of Louis Napoleon was eventually declared valid, and the executive commission was defeated. He sent the following letter of thanks to the departments by whom he had been elected :

“CITIZENS: Your votes fill me with gratitude. This mark of sympathy, the more flattering as I had not solicited it, comes to find me regretting my inactivity at a time when our country has need of the united efforts of all her children to extricate her from her difficult position.

“Your confidence imposes duties upon me which I shall know how to fulfil; our interests, our sentiments, our wishes are the same. A Parisian by birth, now a representative of the people, I shall unite my efforts to those of my colleagues to re-establish order, credit, industry, to assure external peace, to consolidate democratic institutions, to conciliate interests which are seemingly hostile, because they are mutually suspicious and clash against each other, instead of marching together towards one common goal, the prosperity and greatness of the country.

“The people are free since the 24th of February; they can now obtain every thing without having recourse to brutal violence.

“Let us rally then round the altar of our country, under the flag of the republic, and let us present to the world the

grand spectacle of a people regenerating itself without fury, without civil war, without anarchy.

"Receive, dear fellow-citizens, the assurance of my devotion and of my sympathies."

At the same time he wrote the following letter to the Assembly, for the purpose of allaying their suspicions and fears :

"MONSIEUR LE PRESIDENT : I was setting out for my post when I learned that my election was made the pretext for deplorable troubles and fatal mistakes. I have not sought the honor of being a representative of the people, because I was aware of the injurious suspicions which rested upon me; much less did I seek the power. If the people impose duties upon me, I shall know how to fulfil them.

"But I disavow all the ambitious designs that some attribute to me. My name is a symbol of order, of nationality, of glory, and it would be with the liveliest grief that I should see it subservient to national disorders. To avoid such a misfortune I prefer to remain in exile. I am ready to sacrifice every thing for the happiness of France.

"Have the goodness, Mr. President, to communicate this letter to the Assembly. I enclose you a copy of my letter of thanks to the electors."

The reading of this letter in that abominable legislative Babel, the Assembly, occasioned a frightful commotion. An attempt was made to pass a vote of outlawry against the prince, who thus dared to write a letter to the Assembly and never once name the word *Republic!* There is no telling what the result might have been had not the prince sent a letter with the utmost haste from London, resigning his office as representative of the people. Though the excitement in reference to Louis Napoleon had been thus allayed, other causes of disturbance agitated the capital, which resulted eventually in the overthrow of the Committee of Five, and the appointment of General Cavaignac as Dictator. A battle lasting three days and three nights ensued, in which many thousands were slain. At length, when order was restored,

General Cavaignac resigned his power into the hands of the Assembly, who passed a vote of thanks in his favor.

And now the time had arrived at which a re-election was to take place in the departments which had once chosen Louis Napoleon. He publicly announced his intention to accept the office of representative if again chosen. The result was that he was elected by increased majorities, and in five departments. As soon as he was informed of this result, he immediately started for Paris, and arrived there on the 24th of September. He took up his residence in the Hotel de Rhine, on the Place Vendôme. On the 26th of September he made his first appearance in the Assembly. His presence attracted considerable attention. The clerk charged with making the returns of the elections of Seine, Moselle, Corsica, Yonne, and Charente-Inferieure, ascended the tribune and read his report. As soon as the president of the Assembly announced that Louis Napoleon was a representative of the people, the prince arose, left his place, ascended the tribune, and read from a paper the following declaration, in a clear and impressive voice :

“Citizen Representatives : I can no longer maintain silence regarding the calumnies of which I have been the object.

“I find it necessary to express here aloud, and on the first day I am permitted to take a seat amongst you, the real sentiments which animate me, and which have always animated me.

“After thirty years of exile and proscription, I at last recover my country, and my rights as a citizen.

“The republic has granted me this happiness : let the republic then receive the oath of my gratitude, the oath of my devotion, and let my generous countrymen, who have brought me into this Assembly, be certain that I shall endeavor to justify their suffrages by laboring with you for the preservation of tranquillity—that first of the country’s wants—and for the development of those democratic institutions that the people have a right to demand.

“ For a long time I have been able to devote to France nothing but the meditations of exile and captivity. Now the career in which you march is open to me ; receive me into your ranks, my dear colleagues, with the same sentiment of affectionate confidence that I bear towards you.

“ My conduct, always inspired by duty, always animated with respect for the law, shall prove, in spite of all those who, by blackening me, attempt to proscribe me again, that no one here is more determined than I to devote himself to the defence of order, and to the consolidation of the republic.”

These remarks were received with silence by the great body of the Assembly, and with loud applause by the enthusiastic friends of the prince.

The next measure of importance which came before the Assembly was a decision upon the method in which the future President of the Republic should be chosen. Three modes were proposed ; but after some discussion the Assembly resolved that the President should be elected by the universal suffrage of the people. One thing more only remained to secure the future triumph of the growing power of the Bonaparte faction ; and a few days afterward the exile and proscription of the Bonaparte family, which were contained in the laws of 1816 and 1832, were formally abrogated and abolished. Thus was one impediment after another adroitly removed from the pathway of the aspiring prince in his ascent to the summit of power and glory !

## CHAPTER VIII.

The New Constitution — Candidates for the Presidency — Cavaignac — Ledru Rollin — The Immortal "Name" — Activity of the Partisans of Louis Napoleon — Manifestoes of the Candidates — Results of the Election — Inauguration of President Louis Napoleon — Difficulties of his Position — Defects of the New Constitution — The Cabinet of the President — Activity and Violence of the Red Republican Clubs — Fouchet's Bill for their Suppression — Ledru Rollin proposes the Impeachment of the Ministers — The President's Intrepidity — Conspiracy against him throughout France — Opposition to him in the Assembly — Revolution in the Ecclesiastical States — Roman Republic proclaimed — Mazzini and Garibaldi — Defeat of General Oudinot — The New Legislative Assembly — Louis Napoleon's Message to the Assembly — Downfall of the Roman Republic

THE Assembly decreed that the election of the President of the Republic should take place on the 10th of December, 1848. The new Constitution was formally adopted on the 4th of November by a majority of seven hundred and thirty-nine votes against thirty. Its chief opponents were Victor Hugo, Proudhon, Montalembert, and Berryer. On Sunday, November 12th, it was proclaimed in the *Place de la Concorde* with solemn and imposing religious ceremonies. The occasion was graced with the presence of the clergy of Paris, the National Assembly, the municipal authorities, deputations from all the departments of France, and the National Guards in uniform.

The approaching election for President of the Republic was an event of most vital importance. Six candidates occupied prominent places in the public attention. These were Louis Napoleon, Cavaignac, Ledru Rollin, Raspail, Lamartine, and Changarnier. The Socialists were divided into three factions. The democratic wing was represented by Ledru Rollin; the partisans of communism had chosen Raspail, then

a prisoner in the dungeons of Vincennes, as their leader ; the third portion, composed of the remains of the "Workmen-Corporations," supported Louis Blanc. The Moderates were also divided into three parties. The one, consisting of the wrecks of the national party, was led by Lamartine ; the second was headed by General Cavaignac, chief of the executive power ; and the third was the great Bonaparte faction, of which Louis Napoleon was the representative. This last party was supported by the *Presse*, the *Constitutionnel*, the *Événement*, the *Liberté*—journals which possessed the greatest circulation in France. But the impending struggle really lay between General Cavaignac and Louis Napoleon, men of the most opposite characters and incongruous principles.

General Cavaignac was a man fully worthy of the confidence of the nation. He possessed great integrity and moderation of character ; he was unambitious, virtuous, and honorable ; he had held the dictatorial power with rare prudence and justice, and had freely resigned it at the earliest possible period ; he was amiable and conciliatory in his measures ; he nourished no animosities, favored no factions, and sincerely loved liberty and his country. In addition to this he possessed great talents, both civil and military. He deserves to some extent the epithet and glory of the Washington of the present century.

Ledru Rollin was a person of superior ability. His chief merit was his eloquence as a revolutionary orator. During the stormy scenes of February he had taken the lead in the Assembly, and had given evidence of large capacity, of a liberal and daring policy, of great firmness, courage, and enthusiasm. He was interested in advancing the welfare of the populace ; he labored to improve the condition of the working-classes ; while at the same time, though he was aspiring and ambitious, he sincerely loved what he thought the true glory and felicity of France. He was the Mirabeau of his time ; and his public career has been terminated as

suddenly and prematurely, though not as tragically, as that of the Great Orator of the first revolution.

With the character and history of Louis Napoleon, the French nation were already familiar. At that time it may be emphatically said that he represented only a *Name*. But that *Name* was deeply enshrined in the hearts of millions; it was a souvenir of former scenes of national glory and grandeur such as had no parallel in modern times; and if it was a symbol of tyranny and blood, it was also one of order, security, and power. It was the greatest and brightest name in history; it flattered the pride of France; it was a name which must live forever. And he who had inherited this name had displayed at least a consciousness of his rights, a love of his native country, and an ardent desire to serve her. Whatever might be his supposed defects, these were no small or insignificant palliations of them.

And now the time had come at last, when this man, so long persecuted, derided, and crushed, should have a fair opportunity to redeem his fame and fortune. The lists of an immortal race had been opened, and he was admitted among the number of the competitors. The propitious moment had at length arrived. The victor's crown might yet be his. The prayer of his dying mother, and the hope of the expiring conqueror, might yet be realized. And in that solemn hour of decisive destiny Louis Napoleon, for the first time, though not for the last, proved himself equal to the achievement of mighty deeds; while his faithful confederates sprang forward in myriads to accomplish the task before them, to labor with sleepless and incessant activity, to pervade all France with their endeavors and their vigilance, and thus to secure the proffered triumph.

Never was a great crisis more admirably and industriously improved, for the accomplishment of an important result. The whole country was instantly flooded with innumerable busts, portraits, medals, and lithographs, some of which represented the fallen Emperor, and some his aspiring nephew.

Throughout all the cities, towns, and villages of France, pedlars sold these silent advocates of Napoleonism at nominal prices, and other emissaries gave them away; while arguments, addresses, and appeals were employed, sometimes in public, sometimes in secret, to increase the popular excitement in the prince's behalf. Nor were his enemies idle. Satirical pamphlets and songs were printed and widely diffused. The utmost powers of ridicule were tried and exhausted; and the unhappy "live eagle," which had figured so prominently and so ineffectually in the affair of Boulogne, became the theme of myriads of satires at the expense of the prince. Truth, decency, and propriety were all outraged; and even the prince's former connection with several females of questionable character was exaggerated, perverted, censured and heralded forth.

As the period of the election approached, the public excitement became more intense. General Cavaignac refused to publish any manifesto, rightly asserting that his official acts were a sufficient proclamation in his favor. The same course was pursued by Lamartine. Ledru Rollin and Raspail sent forth addresses filled with sonorous declarations of socialistic fury and absurdity. Louis Napoleon was strongly urged to prepare a clear and full declaration of his principles and purposes, as a reply to the innumerable calumnies with which he was assailed. He determined to do so, and published, on the 27th of November, a carefully written address to the French people, in which the following passages occur:

"Whatever may be the result of the election, I shall bow to the will of the people; and I pledge beforehand my cooperation with any strong and honest government which shall re-establish order in principles as well as in things; which shall efficiently protect our religion, our families, and our properties — the eternal bases of every social community; which shall attempt all practicable reforms, assuage animosities, reconcile parties, and thus permit a country rendered uneasy by circumstances to count upon the morrow.



“To re-establish order is to restore confidence, to repair, by means of credit, the temporary depreciation of resources, to restore the finances, and to revive commerce.

“To protect religion and the rights of families is to insure the freedom of public worship and education.

“To protect property is to maintain the inviolability of the fruits of every man’s labor ; it is to guarantee the independence and security of possession, the indispensable foundations for all civil liberties.

“As to the reforms which are possible, the following are those which appear to me to be the most urgent :—

“To adopt all those measures of economy which, without occasioning disorder in the public service, will permit of a reduction of those taxes which press most heavily on the people.

“To encourage enterprises which, whilst they develop agricultural wealth, may, both in France and Algeria, give work to hands at present unoccupied.

“To provide for the relief of laborers in their old age, by means of provident institutions.

“To introduce into our industrial laws ameliorations which may tend, not to ruin the rich for the gain of the poor, but to establish the well-being of each upon the prosperity of all.

“To restrict, within just limits, the number of employments which shall depend on the government, and which often convert a free people into a nation of beggars.

“To avoid that deplorable tendency which leads the state to do that which individuals may do as well, and better, for themselves ; the centralization of interests and enterprises is in the nature of despotism ; the nature of the republic rejects monopolies.

“Finally, to protect the liberty of the press from the two excesses which always endanger it—that of arbitrary authority on the one hand, and of its own licentiousness on the other.

“ With war we can have no relief to our ills. Peace, then, would be the dearest object of my desire.

“ France, at the time of her first revolution, was warlike, because others forced her to be so. Threatened with invasion, she replied by conquest. Now she is not threatened, she is free to concentrate all her resources to pacific measures of amelioration, without abandoning a loyal and resolute policy.

“ A great nation ought to be silent, or never to speak in vain.

“ To have regard for the national dignity is to have regard for the army, whose patriotism, so noble and so disinterested, has been frequently neglected.

“ We ought, whilst we maintain the fundamental laws which are the strength of our military organization, to alleviate, and not aggravate, the burden of the conscription.

“ We ought to take care of the present and future interests, not only of the officers, but likewise of the non-commissioned officers and privates, and prepare secure means of subsistence for men who have long served under our colors.

“ The republic ought to be generous, and have faith in its future prospects; and for my part, I, who have suffered exile and captivity, appeal with all my warmest aspirations to that day when the country may, without danger, put a stop to all proscriptions, and efface the last traces of our civil discords.

“ Such, my dear fellow-citizens, are the ideas which I should bring to bear upon the functions of government, if you were to call me to the presidency of the republic.

“ The task is a difficult one—the mission immense. I know it. But I should not despair of accomplishing it, inviting to my aid, without distinction of party, all men who, by their high intelligence or their probity, have recommended themselves to the public esteem.”

At length the memorable 10th of December arrived. A bright clear sun shone on that day upon France. The whole nation marched quietly and soberly to the ballot-box; or if any enthusiasm was displayed, there was no confusion nor

disturbance. The real fact was, that the French people may almost be said to have been of one mind. Louis Napoleon was elected President of the Republic by a prodigious majority. He received 5,434,226 votes; Cavaignac received 1,448,107 votes; Ledru Rollin, 370,119 votes; Raspail, 36,900; Lamartine, 17,910; Changarnier, 4,790. Thus, at last, after thirty-five long years of evil and misery, the son of Hortense had become the ruler of France!

On the 20th of December the new President was sworn into office in the presence of the Assembly. On the afternoon of that day, the chairman of the committee of thirty representatives who had been appointed to examine the returns, proceeded to read his report. Having given the details of the result, and informed the Assembly that Louis Napoleon had been elected President, General Cavaignac ascended the tribune and stated to them that the ministers who had constituted the Cabinet under his Dictatorship had all resigned. M. Marrast, the President of the Assembly, put the report of the committee to the vote; when it was unanimously adopted. He then proceeded to say that the President elect would now be sworn into office. It was about five o'clock in the afternoon. The immense hall of the Assembly was growing obscure with the gathering shades of evening. The chandeliers were lowered and lighted. M. Marrast having at length made a signal, a door opened on the right, a man entered the hall, and rapidly ascended the tribune. He was dressed in black, and wore on his breast the badge of the Legion of Honor. The whole Assembly gazed upon him with intense interest. His face was pale and careworn, his manner was hurried and confused, his attitude was timid and anxious. He was still comparatively young; though his person bore the marks of time and suffering. This man was Louis Napoleon.

The President of the Assembly then read in a loud and calm voice the following oath: "In the presence of God, and before the French people, represented by the National

Assembly, I swear to remain faithful to the Democratic republic, one and indivisible; and to fulfil all the duties imposed on me by the Constitution." Louis Napoleon facing the Assembly, responded in a loud and firm tone: "I swear it." M. Marrast then added, rather obtrusively and unnecessarily: "We take God and man to witness the oath which has now been sworn. The National Assembly adopts that oath, orders it to be recorded with the votes, to be printed in the *Moniteur*, and to be published in the same form and manner as the acts of the Legislature." The President of the Republic then delivered his inaugural address from a paper which he held in his hand. It was brief, and to the point; containing in substance the same ideas which had been expressed in his proclamation previous to the election. The President having concluded his speech descended from the tribune amid general and prolonged applause.

The President of the Assembly then ordered the committee to conduct Louis Napoleon to the door of the Elysée Palace, which had been appointed for his residence. They passed between two lines of the National Guards until they reached the carriages provided for them. They then proceeded to the abode of the new "Chief of the Executive power," which the Assembly had designated as the "Legislative Palace." Thus ended the simple ceremonial connected with the inauguration of the first President of the Republic.

Though Louis Napoleon found himself at last at the head of the government, his position was a very difficult one. He was called the President of a republic, but there was in reality no republic in existence. The French nation was nothing more nor less than a political chaos. It was divided into Legitimists, Orleanists, Revolutionists, Reactionists, Socialists, Red Republicans, and Communists; and although the great majority of the people throughout the country had voted for Louis Napoleon, yet the leading politicians, the active motive power in the capital, were divided and subdivided into the factions just named. The new constitution

had also been adopted in great haste, and was very imperfect. The lines of distinction between the different branches of the government had not been drawn with sufficient clearness. Confusion and collision thence became inevitable. The President of the Republic had no power to dissolve one Assembly, and order another, that he might thereby obtain the meaning and learn the wishes of the nation. He was forbidden to command the army. His right to pardon, and to grant amnesties, was taken away. Everything had been done in the framing of the constitution to weaken the power of the chief officer of the government.

It is apparent that, from the moment Louis Napoleon gained his election to the Presidency, he commenced to plot against the republic. His measures were all intended to corrupt the army, to purchase partisans in every class and rank, and gradually to concentrate all power and empire in himself. This indeed was his professed destiny. This was true Napoleonism. Such was the course of conduct and policy which he had inherited with his name, his destiny and his hopes. The grand and imposing part of the drama of his life now really begins.

His first act was to appoint his ministers. Odillon Barrot was made president of the cabinet, and Minister of Justice. The command of the army in Paris was entrusted to General Changarnier. M. de Maleville was Minister of the Interior. The very day after his inauguration Louis Napoleon displayed the firmness of his character by his proceedings in regard to the official documents which referred to the affairs of Strasburg and Boulogne. These were contained in sixteen cases, which were deposited in the archives of the Ministry of the Interior. The president requested the Minister Maleville to send these to the Elysée, as soon as he took possession of his bureau. M. Maleville hesitated to comply with this request. He eluded the repeated demands of the president. The latter at length addressed the minister a letter containing such threats and such reproaches, that M. Maleville immediately

resigned. Leon Fauchet was appointed to succeed him, who proved more obedient and compliant with the demands of the president.

Louis Napoleon soon found that the high seat which he had so long coveted, was not one of roses. His worst opponents, the Red Republicans, were active in fomenting plots in the Assembly, with the press, and in the clubs. The last were particularly dangerous, insidious, and powerful. One of the first acts of Fouchet was to close these clubs. He brought forward a bill to that effect in the Assembly, and asserted and proved that under "their dissolving action no regular government was possible." The proposition was violently opposed by Ledru Rollin; and he prevailed by a majority of seventy-six. He then moved the impeachment of the ministry. This so disconcerted them that they proposed in a body to resign. But the president refused to accept their resignation; and added: "Changarnier has received his orders; the time of barricades is past." Louis-Napoleon did not lose his presence of mind on this critical occasion; but grasped the helm of state with a firm and resolute hand. The clubs of Paris grew more and more powerful every day. Their purposes and aims are thus described by one who was well qualified to judge of their real character:<sup>1</sup>

"Whilst sedition and conspiracy are allowed to muster in their recognized strongholds, the clubs of Paris, government of a stable and permanent nature, no matter what its form, is impossible in France. It is a patent fact, which no one denies, that the clubs of the French capital are not mere peaceful assemblies from which resolutions embodying the sentiments of the meeting, or petitions addressed to the legislature, emanate in a manner suitable to the modesty that ought to characterize memorials. It is not resolutions, but revolutions; it is not petitions, but insurrections; it is not ad-

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<sup>1</sup> See *Napoleon III. ; Review of his Life, Character, and Policy, by a British Officer: London, 1857, p. 182.*

dresses, but barricades, which have systematically and notoriously emanated from these clubs ever since their appearance. They are sinks and pestholes from which an intermittent evil of incurable and fatal malignity has at frequent intervals, and with frightful precision, arisen and seized the body politic and the body social. This is a fact recorded in very legible characters of blood and devastation, and scarred and seared into the condition of France — scarred indeed, and seared so deeply, that through the sides of that tortured country all Europe has been marked and impressed with the signs thereof. Louis Napoleon practically experienced that he cannot carry on his government while these clubs are suffered to exist; he probably sees also that no government could be carried on which sanctioned obstructions so systematic and so formidable in its own path.”

Nor was this dangerous socialistic excitement confined to Paris. Seditions occurred at Metz, at Perpignan, and elsewhere. These, however, were soon suppressed by the military. The great conflict which was gradually approaching was between the president and the hostile factions in the capital. On the 29th of January the drums beat to arms in Paris. It was not yet the *coup d'état*; it was only some precautionary movements occasioned by a disturbance among the *Garde Mobile*. To restore public confidence the president performed an act of superior courage. He mounted his horse, and attended by a few cuirassiers, he boldly rode up and down the boulevards, to view in person the progress of the commotion. This bold act restored public confidence and public order. He was greeted with enthusiastic shouts of applause; and no further demonstration of disaffection was then made by the chief malcontents — the Red Republicans.

But the Red Republicans were not the only conspirators in the capital. All the other factions, and especially the Bourbonists, were intensely active. Their purpose was first to crush the Republicans, and after them, the Bonapartists, in

order to prepare the way for the Count de Chambord, or the Count of Paris. One of the chief annoyances of the President was the opposition to his measures which he constantly encountered in the Assembly. The utmost violence characterized many of the debates. It was with great difficulty that the Executive could obtain the legislative sanction to the most necessary and salutary propositions.

In February, 1849, the attention of France and of Europe was attracted by the sudden proclamation of a Republic in Rome. This result had been brought about by the imbecile policy pursued by Pius IX., who ascended the papal throne on the 16th of June, 1846. His measures of reform, in which he persisted for eighteen months, were intended to establish in the Roman States a representative form of government. But his partial improvements were offensive to the conservatives, while they utterly failed to satisfy the liberals. Rome became the resort and refuge of immense crowds of Italian, German, and French revolutionists, of the Red Republican school, whose agitations rendered the state of affairs more desperate. Rossi, the Pope's Minister of Foreign Affairs, was assassinated in open day. The mob surrounded and besieged the Pope's residence, and compelled him to accept a ministry of their own appointment. Pius IX. at length fled to Gaeta. Mazzini, and the Prince of Canino, son of Lucien Bonaparte, then formed a provisional government, proclaimed the Republic of Rome and the downfall of the temporal power of the Pope.

The French government determined to interfere. The expedition to Civita Vecchia was resolved upon. General Oudinot was sent with four thousand troops, and was ordered to invest the city of Rome. These troops were attacked by the revolutionists who then held possession of the city, and the French were routed. Subsequently, General Oudinot received the necessary reinforcements, and he was ordered by the President to prepare to renew the attack on the Eternal City.



Meanwhile the elections were held throughout France, on the 13th of May, 1849, for the new legislative Assembly. The Red Republicans had greatly increased in strength. Nearly two hundred representatives ranged themselves on their benches. Ledru Rollin had been returned by five departments. He was elated beyond measure with this success, and repeatedly exclaimed: "In a month I shall either be dictator or shot!" The debates in the Assembly again exhibited the utmost violence and fury. On the 7th of June, Louis Napoleon sent in his Message, which marked the commencement of the second year of his incumbency. In this document he set forth what his labors and endeavors had been during the preceding year, and what his plans and wishes were for the future.

This address produced a favorable impression throughout France; but in the Assembly it was furiously attacked by the Mountain, headed by Ledru Rollin. He also accused the President and his ministers of having violated the fifth article of the Constitution, by sending forth the expedition to Rome. The excitement which prevailed in the Assembly was soon transformed into a popular tumult in the streets. On the 18th, proclamations appeared in the Red Republican journals, announcing that the people should on that day rise and overturn the government. Vast crowds again assembled in the streets, bearing flags and mottoes of a revolutionary character. But before their violence could lead to any definite results, they were attacked by some battalions of troops under General Changarnier, and immediately dispersed. The leaders of the insurrection, the chief of whom were Ledru Rollin and M. Considerant, the Socialist, had assembled in the Observatory to form a Provisional Government. They were suddenly compelled to make their escape through a window. They fled to England; their confederates were dispersed and vanquished; the new "Provisional Government" perished in its birth; and by four o'clock in the afternoon the capital—the most excitable and frantic in the

world, — was again tranquil and quiescent. On the same day that Louis Napoleon achieved this victory in Paris, General Oudinot again attacked Rome; he obtained complete possession of it, overturned the Roman Republic, and re-established the papal authority. Mazzini and Garibaldi, in their turn, fled for safety to England; there to condole with the exiled Ledru Rollin and Considerant.

## CHAPTER IX.

**Louis Napoleon in the Workshops of Paris — Incidents and Escapes — His Tour through the Provinces—Committee of Permanence—Decree permitting the Return of the Bourbons — The President's Letter to Colonel Ney — Duel between Thiers and Bixio — Victor Hugo's Hostility to the President — New Ministers appointed — Sudden growth of Socialism — Election of Representatives — The law of Universal Suffrage — Increasing Hostility of the Assembly to the President — Increase of the President's Salary — His Second Tour through the Provinces—Hostility of Changarnier to the President—The Reviews at Satory—Conspiracy to Arrest the President—The False Message — The Revision of the Constitution discussed — The President's Speech at Dijon—Universal Suffrage again discussed — New Cabinet of the President—State of France — Approach of the Decisive Moment for Action.**

THE President of the Republic did not forget to practice all those conciliatory arts by which he might gain the confidence and esteem of the working-classes. It was frequently his custom to leave his palace, accompanied only by a young officer named Fleury, and traverse on foot the faubourg St. Antoine, and others of the poorest and most miserable quarters of Paris. He entered the workshops, conversed with the foremen, heard their complaints, and sympathized with the deprivations and sufferings of those sons and daughters of toil. Sometimes he went *incognito*, sometimes he gave his name; but in most instances his conversation and his generosity revealed the mystery before he took his departure.

On one occasion he entered a manufactory of wall-paper. He knew that all the workmen employed in it were Republicans of the ultra-stamp, and belonged to secret societies. He was immediately recognized, and was received very coldly. The walls were covered with all kinds of placards, clearly indicative of the extreme radicalism of the inmates. The

President endeavored to engage some of the men in kindly conversation. He found them reserved and hostile. By dint of perseverance, however, he at length succeeded in drawing them out; when they confessed that the revolution of 1848 had essentially injured their business. He then said in reply: "We must have a little patience. I promise you a decided improvement before the end of the year. I am endeavoring to give an impulse to the building business, which will animate and improve yours." He gradually gained their confidence, and the wives, sisters, and children of the men in the neighborhood, hearing of his presence, ran to see him. Before he left the place he had rendered himself the general favorite by his affability, his liberality, and the interest which he displayed in the welfare of the workmen. Such events took place frequently, and their influence on the public mind was by no means inconsiderable.

On the particular occasion just referred to, the President perceived a young man who kept himself haughtily apart, as if unwilling to be obliged to show any politeness. Louis Napoleon beckoned him to approach. The man colored, hesitated an instant, and then slowly advanced. He had a wooden leg.

"You have served in Africa?" asked the prince. The young man bit his lips, and made no reply.

"Ah, it is the effect of an accident then," said Louis Napoleon, regretting to have embarrassed him by asking him to declare the cause of an infirmity which his silence plainly enough referred to the unfortunate days of June. "How old are you?"

"Twenty-six, and I have a mother to support."

Here an old lady, neatly but plainly dressed, forced her way through the throng.

"My prince," said she, with simplicity, "I am his mother. He is not a bad boy, only they have put such ugly notions into his head ——"

"But he supports you with his labor," interrupted Louis

Napoleon, to prevent her going further. "Have you no other resources, madam?"

"My poor husband was killed in those affairs of June," she replied, wiping her eyes.

"That horrible battle of June has had many victims," said Louis Napoleon, unwilling to carry on further conversation with a woman whom he took for the widow of an insurgent.

"My husband did his duty," she added, sobbing. "He was serving in the Republican Guards when he fell to rise no more, at the attack of the great barricade of the Faubourg."

"Your husband died in the ranks? Was he an old soldier?"

"Thirty years in the service, my prince."

"Commandant Fleury, take the name and address of this brave woman. This affair must be looked into. It is only just that the State adopt the children of its defenders. What of your son?"

"O Monseigneur," cried the widow, "when my husband received the ball, my son was at the other side of the barricade!"

"Well, he received a ball too, and that has not been his greatest punishment. But everything is forgotten except the services of your husband. I shall remember them."

He had left the building when he heard a commotion in the crowd behind him. Turning, he perceived the old lady leading forward her son by the hand.

"O prince, pardon him," she exclaimed. "You have corrected him. He is ashamed of what he has done. It was all bad advice. He had threatened, the unhappy boy, to do you an injury, and now he is ready to die for you."

The President kept his word with the poor woman, and paid her a pension from his private purse.

The President carefully employed every other opportunity to win the favor and applause of the populace. The inauguration of the railroads, and the festivals which attended these events, furnished him with appropriate occasions of this

description. His speeches were short and to the purpose; they flew with rapidity over France, and found a willing echo in myriads of hearts. At Chartres, at Amiens, at Ham, his former prison, at Angers, at Tours, at Rouen, at Elbeuf, at Epernay, and elsewhere, his presence, his demeanor, and his addresses gained him great popularity, and the more general confidence of the nation. The enemies who obstructed his pathway to the supreme power, were not among the nation, but in the Assembly.

During the summer of 1849 the cholera raged in Paris, and some distinguished men, occupying prominent and important positions, fell victims to its fury. The Assembly resolved to adjourn, in consequence of the epidemic, from the 10th of August to the 1st of October; but before so doing they appointed a Committee of Permanence, consisting of twenty-five members who, during the interval, should perform all the legislative functions.

On the 1st of October the Assembly again convened. The first proposition which was made after the opening of the session was to annul the decree which interdicted the return of the Bourbon family to France. In reference to this proposition the President sent word, that he had no objection to it whatever, provided the same favor was extended to the insurgents of June, who had been punished and transported without judgment. Before this matter was decided, the attention of the Assembly was attracted and absorbed by another of greater moment. During the popular revolution at Rome, already referred to, Louis Napoleon had written a letter to Colonel Ney, his orderly officer in that city, which had given offence to many persons of influence in France. M. Fallaux, the minister of public instruction, thinking that the contents of the letter were prejudicial to the interests of the Church of Rome, resigned. The leaders of the "Order party" in Paris now insisted that the ministers of Louis Napoleon should disavow that letter. This proposition placed those officers in a difficult and unpleasant position; for they

wished neither to offend the President nor the Assembly. On the 18th of October the matter was brought up for discussion in that body. During the excited debate which ensued, MM. Thiers and Bixio became involved in a personal dispute. Bixio asserted that Thiers had said the election of Louis Napoleon, as President, was a disgrace to France. Thiers denied the accusation. Bixio persisted in it. The consequence was that the two representatives retired to engage immediately in mortal combat. They fired two rounds, but took care that nobody should be hurt. At length Bixio said to his opponent: "It is possible you may have forgotten, and hence it is only a matter of *memory*." Thiers retorted on Bixio: "You may have misunderstood me, and hence it is only a matter of *interpretation*." The combatants advanced, shook hands cordially, and returned arm in arm to the Assembly!

This day and this debate marked the commencement of the implacable hostility of Victor Hugo to Louis Napoleon, whom he has ever since stigmatized as "Napoleon the Little." He had previously been the friend of the President, and his apostasy can only be accounted for on the supposition that he had been disappointed in not receiving the appointment of Minister of Public Instruction.—It is also asserted that the President said, sarcastically: "M. Victor Hugo addresses me always with a very patronizing air. I could easily understand the reason of this, if I made verses and wrote pieces for the theatre!" Whatever may have been the real cause, the great poet, on this occasion, ascended the tribune and delivered himself of a long excited speech, violently abusive of the President. He was loudly cheered by the Mountain, who were in raptures at the acquisition of so distinguished and so able a confederate. The debate, however, ended in a vote of four hundred and sixty-nine in favor of the President, and one hundred and eighty against him.

Yet Louis Napoleon was determined to dismiss his ministers, and to appoint new ones. He had found the former not

sufficiently obsequious and compliant with his measures, and he had resolved to procure more supple tools. A list of these appeared in the evening *Moniteur* of the very day on which the dismissal took place. The president of the new cabinet was Ferdinand Barrot, the distinguished advocate, and brother of Odillon. His nature was more manageable than that of his predecessor and relative. This independent method of changing the ministers without in the least degree consulting the wishes of the Assembly, offended that body. Yet his majority there was still overwhelming; and with cabinet officers who were obedient to his will, he felt himself in possession of a greater accession of power, and able more fully to execute his purposes, and concentrate his energies.

On the 10th of March, 1850, an election of representatives was to take place in France. Trouble and disorder were anticipated. Two agitated years of the President's term had now transpired, during which his superior administrative abilities began to shine forth. But as yet the field in which he was compelled to exercise them, was of a more obscure character, that of resistance to faction, the removal and suppression of discontent, and the husbanding of his resources for the great day of decisive destiny which was approaching in the distance.

The most remarkable feature which, during the year 1849, characterized the public sentiment in France, was the sudden and prodigious growth of Socialism. This was especially true of the eastern and central provinces; and it was a matter of great uncertainty whether, at the ensuing election, the triumph of that faction in the Assembly might not be complete and overwhelming. To avoid popular tumults and an appeal to arms, the President issued a decree dividing the country into five great military commands, and placing each division of the army under generals, of whose devotion and fidelity he had the most satisfactory proof.

The 10th of March arrived, and the excitement in Paris was intense. Thirty representatives were to be elected



throughout the country; and of these, three were to be chosen by the capital. Here there were but three parties, the party of order, the Bonapartists, and the Socialists. The latter triumphed, and their candidates, MM. De Flotte, Vidal, and Carnot, were chosen by a large majority. Vidal had also been elected by the department of the Upper Rhine. He now made his election serve for that department; which thus rendered a new election in Paris necessary. The consequence was that Eugene Sue, the novelist, was chosen by the Socialist faction, and received a hundred and twenty-six thousand votes. But throughout the departments the majority was greatly in favor of the opponents of the Socialists.

The first measure proposed in the Assembly, after the election, was the abrogation of the great law of universal suffrage. After a long and animated debate, it was decreed that no citizen should enjoy the right of suffrage who had not lived three years in the commune for which he appeared; and the evidence of such residence was to be the regular insertion of the name of the voter in the tax-book during that period of time. The President qualified his approval of the measure by saying: "I am willing that there should be a temporary suspension of the right of universal suffrage. In an urgent crisis, the law can suspend a right. But it can never abrogate or *annul* it. Universal suffrage must be restored as soon as circumstances permit." The law was passed by a majority of two hundred and fifty, and the President signed the bill.

The object thus aimed at by the abolition of universal suffrage was twofold. It was intended by the party of order, the Bourbonists and Orleanists, to prevent the re-election of Louis Napoleon to the Presidency, and also to crush the growing power of the Socialists. The President, nevertheless, signed the decree without hesitation. He knew full well that the time for decisive action on his part had not yet arrived; and he also knew that the constant vacillation of public sentiment in France might, and probably would

reverse what had just been decreed, before the lapse of any very long period of time.

This was the last occasion upon which the President of the Republic and the Assembly agreed upon the adoption of any public measure. There were elements of opposition in that body to the chief of the State, which must sooner or later result in decisive hostility. An inevitable collision impended between them. Bourbonists and Orleanists formed at length a predominating element in the Assembly. The former urged the claims of the Count de Chambord; the latter supported the pretensions of the Count de Paris. The Socialists were opposed both to the Bonapartists and the other two factions; but were still in a minority to each of them. Louis Napoleon possessed one great advantage in dealing with this Assembly. It was emphatically a house divided against itself.

The conduct of Louis Napoleon as President of the Republic had thus far disappointed and surprised every class and faction in the State. His own partisans were delighted with the sagacity, ability and energy with which he administered the government. The Bourbonists and Orleanists, as well as the Red Republicans and Socialists, were astonished and offended by the same cause. These parties now combined against the President in the Assembly, and endeavored by their united opposition to impede, embarrass, and even to crush his measures. They were determined to prevent him from winning greater popularity by obtaining greater success. This antagonism between the Executive and the Legislative branches of the government began to ruin the interests of France; and this very antagonism, which became greater from day to day, is the *key* to the subsequent events, and especially to the *coup d'etat*, which eventually placed Louis Napoleon on an imperial throne.

The first display of this organized opposition was made on the 4th of June. On that day M. Achille Fould, the Minister of Finance, offered a motion in the Assembly to augment the

salary of the President to two hundred and fifty thousand francs per month. The experience of several years had proved that the original salary of six hundred thousand francs per year was utterly insufficient for the necessities of the Presidency. This demand drew forth the most bitter opposition. In vain the Minister of Finance explained the infinite number of calls for aid which had been made upon the chief of the state. "Do we wish to know," said he, "who were those beggars whom the socialist journals treated with such contempt? They were not only the old soldiers of the empire, veteran warriors that had shed their blood on every battle-field in Europe; these were only a small part of the number; they were benevolent and charitable societies, who solicited the President for a penny to relieve abandoned children and sick tradesmen; they were clergymen, who went about questing in behalf of their falling church and impoverished dioceses; they were artists, composers, men of letters, who asked the head of the state to subscribe to their works, to their concerts, to their pictures, to their statues; they were prefects, mayors, who thought they were honoring the President by asking him for his name among the subscribers to monuments that were to perpetuate the great recollections of our history; they were antiquated functionaries, widows, old state-servants, who wanted a morsel of bread. This list, lamentably long, comprised pensioners of the old civil list, chevaliers of St. Louis, and lastly many political criminals, and even a near relative of Mazzini!"

At last, after a long and bitter contest, the law passed by a small majority of forty-six. During August and September of the year 1850, the Assembly again adjourned, having first appointed a Committee of Permanence, composed of twenty-five members, who should exercise the legislative functions during the vacation. Out of this whole number, Odillon Barrot was the only member who was not opposed personally and politically to the President of the Republic. This significant incident shows the existing state of parties.

On the 12th of August Louis Napoleon again commenced to make a tour through France. His journey continued during a month. On this occasion he may truly be said to have placed his hand upon the heart of the nation, and felt its free pulsations. Everywhere he was greeted by the populace with applause. He spoke at the various banquets which were offered him. At Lyons especially, his speech was full of significant and suggestive remarks, which created a deep impression throughout the nation. He there asserted that he was not the representative of a party, but the representative of the great national manifestations which, in 1804 and in 1848, saved, by the establishment of order, the great principles of the French revolution. He called himself the "Elect of six millions," and declared that he knew how to serve France in any capacity in which she demanded his services. He may be said at this time and on this occasion to have predicted the *coup d'etat*; for speaking of the hostile factions he used this expressive language: "*I shall know how to reduce these factions to impotence, by again invoking the sovereignty of the people.*"

On his return to Paris, after the termination of his tour, Louis Napoleon found another foe, of no inconsiderable consequence, arrayed against him. This was General Changarnier, a violent Orleanist, who had distinguished himself by some victories in Algiers, and also by his conduct in the suppression of the riots in June, 1849. He was now commander-in-chief of the National Guards, and of the army of Paris. He was a man of ability, but exceedingly ambitious and impracticable in his character. He had assumed, and had almost attained, the position and influence of a third power in the state, and he claimed to be equal in importance to the President or the Assembly. The Legitimists supported him in his aims and measures, hoping thereby eventually to crush the President. He was then secretly using his utmost endeavors to gain over the army of Paris, and to alienate it from the Executive. The contest between the two rivals first broke

forth publicly in reference to the respective jurisdictions of the Minister of War and Changarnier, as to whom the supreme control of the army belonged. The result of this dispute was, that the President took the side of his minister; and that Changarnier immediately formed a secret conspiracy to arrest, impeach, and depose the President. While this conspiracy was maturing, some military reviews were held at Sartory, at which the commander-in-chief endeavored to suppress the shouts of *Vive Napoleon!* and *Vive le President!* which resounded along the ranks. At a second review, the shouts, in spite of the prohibition, were louder than ever, and *Vive l'Empereur!* — an ominous and horrible sound to the factions — was then added to the rest. The Committee of Permanence, at their next meeting, discussed with great bitterness the occurrence of these shouts. General Changarnier, who was also a prominent member of the committee, became involved in a personal dispute with M. D'Hautpoul, the Minister of War, which greatly increased the existing bitterness. The conspiracy against the President progressed, and the plan adopted was as follows: The chief members of the Committee of Permanence were to draw up an act accusing the President of exceeding his powers, of attempting to change the form of government, and usurping the sovereign authority. This act was to be handed to M. Dupin, the President of the Assembly, who was also to sign it. It was then to be given to General Changarnier, who was to arrest Louis Napoleon and confine him in prison. The general was then to assume a dictatorship until the Assembly had approved of what had been done. He would then order an appeal to the people, the majority of whom, as was supposed, would decree the restoration of the dynasty of Louis Philippe. It is asserted that this act was really prepared and signed, and handed to M. Dupin; but that he, finding his courage fail him, kept the important document in his pocket, until other decisive events rendered the execution of the plot impossible.

On the 10th of November, 1850, the President sent in his

annual message to the Assembly. This document contained a narrative of the proceedings of the Executive during the preceding year, and a description of the then existing state of France, and of the government. An amusing incident occurred in reference to this message. On the morning in which it was sent to the Assembly, a long document appeared in the columns of the *Presse*, purporting to be that message. This allegation was false; but the singularity of the document was, that every word of it was taken from the various productions of the President of previous dates. It was composed of separate sentences, which being collected together like a mosaic, uttered sentiments which he once professed, but which were widely different from those expressed in the genuine message! Such a jest was Parisian in the extreme. The public at first were startled; they then roared with laughter. The joke was a serious one to the editor of the *Presse*. He was arrested, tried, convicted, and punished, for having "published false intelligence of a nature calculated to disturb the public tranquility."

The hostility between the President and General Changarnier increased. The Assembly continually endeavored to crush all the movements of the President, and Changarnier, the third power in the State, now sided with the Assembly. That body decreed that they possessed supreme control over the army. The Minister of War immediately resigned, as he thought his jurisdiction was taken from him by the passage of that decree. His resignation was accepted; and at the same instant the President boldly determined to exercise the extreme limit of his authority and dismiss Changarnier from his post as Commander-in-chief. This dismissal fell like a thunder-bolt upon the opposing factions, and upon the astounded general himself. Generals Perrot and D'Hilliers were appointed in his place. The Assembly revenged itself for this decisive act by decreeing that Changarnier still retained unimpaired the confidence of the legislature and of

the nation, and passed a resolution of want of confidence in the ministry.

The cabinet immediately resigned. The President selected a new ministry, composed of men of neither party, who were not even members of the National Assembly. In this policy he displayed his great independence and self-reliance. But his position was rapidly becoming one of extreme difficulty and danger. The secret conspiracy against him, of which Changarnier was the head, acquired increased bitterness and energy by the dismissal of that officer. The opposition to him in the Assembly was becoming more and more determined. Every day the wheels of government were approaching nearer to a dead lock; and the responsibility of such a horrid crisis of anarchy and ruin would be thrown by the concurrent voices of the factions on the President. But Louis Napoleon possessed the confidence of the nation openly, and of the army secretly; and the time was rapidly approaching when he must either yield ignobly, and be crushed forever beneath the endeavors of his embittered foes, or else he must save himself from ruin by some great act of desperate energy, resolution, and power, by which his enemies would be overthrown, and he be rescued, while at the same time he retained the esteem and the confidence of the nation.

In May, 1851, the attention of the nation was for a time engaged in observing the revision of the new Constitution by the Assembly. The French people desired the alteration of that Constitution, which was one of the most feeble and absurd which was ever devised. It was confused and possessed neither solidity nor compactness. It had not clearly defined the functions and the jurisdictions of the several branches of the government; and its operation had been most inefficient and pernicious.

On the 1st of June Louis Napoleon delivered a speech at the opening of the railroad at Dijon. His progress through the country was in fact a public triumph; and shouts of *Vive l'Empereur* greeted him at every station, and in every town

and village. In his address at Dijon he again vindicated his measures and purposes, and again intimated that he should appeal to the voice of the nation when the appropriate crisis arrived. He declared that a new era was approaching, when France would not permit either the return of the ancient *regime*, nor the experiment of new and dangerous Utopias. In other words, he clearly intimated that the re-establishment of the Empire could alone save the country from ruin.

A few days afterward this celebrated speech was discussed in the Assembly with great violence. All the factions condemned it; but it elevated its author very highly in the estimation of the whole nation. Innumerable petitions were sent in to the Assembly requesting that when the revision of the Constitution took place, the period of the Presidency of Louis Napoleon should be prolonged to ten years.

At length, on the 14th of July, the discussions on the revision began in the Assembly. The Bourbonists and Orleanists argued in favor of a total revision. The Red Republicans or Socialists were opposed to any revision whatever. The Bonapartists desired that the forty-fifth article, which forbade the re-election of Louis Napoleon, should alone be altered. When the final vote was taken, four hundred and forty-six representatives voted in favor of the revision, and two hundred and seventy-eight voted against it. But the Constitution itself had provided that five hundred votes at least should be given in favor of revision, before a revision could take place. Hence the Constitution remained unaltered. This result had been produced by a union between all the factions which were opposed to the continuation of the authority of Louis Napoleon beyond the duration of his first term of four years.

After the usual recess which took place during the summer of 1851, the Assembly again convened. One of the first measures offered to the consideration of the legislature, was the repeal of the law suppressing universal suffrage. The ministers proposed an act giving the right to vote to each



Frenchman who was twenty-one years of age, and who had resided six months in the same commune. The struggle in the Assembly was very violent. After a long debate, and the utmost exertions on each side, the law was rejected by a majority only of *three*. Louis Napoleon, though disappointed at this result, was not disconcerted. He had determined to grasp the imperial diadem; he had not relinquished his purpose; he was compelled merely to change his tactics.

After this defeat of the President, his leading ministers resigned. The new cabinet consisted of Leroy St. Arnaud, a general who had obtained some distinction in Algiers, and whom we shall again meet on another field of military glory, as Minister of War; M. de Maupas, late Prefect of Haute Garonne, became Minister of Police; M. Thorigny was Minister of the Interior. The President now summoned to his most secret councils De Morny, Magnan, and Persigny, men whose fame and fortunes have become inseparably connected with his own. He clearly perceived that the great crisis was approaching; that the country was becoming more and more agitated and uneasy; that all the operations of government, by no fault of his, were impeded, confused, and inefficient; that his enemies were secretly preparing to consummate the conspiracy against his authority, his liberty, and even against his life; that the opposing factions were already discussing the nomination of his successors, among whom were Changarnier, Ledru Rollin, Cavaignac, Carnot, the Prince de Joinville, and La Rochejaquelein; that in some departments of France, such as Nievre, Allier, and Cher, the desperate populace were marching through the country threatening pillage and conflagration; in a word, that both the security and prosperity of France, as well as his own rescue from destruction demanded that, at that moment, the last decisive blow should be struck. He now braced himself to the performance of the great deed; and never was an act on which the future fate of millions depended, executed with more energy, sagacity, and resolution

## CHAPTER X.

The *Coup d'Etat* — Ball at the *Elysée* Palace — Louis Napoleon in his Cabinet — Printing of the Proclamations — Their Distribution throughout the Capital — Simultaneous Arrest of the chief Enemies of the President — The Soldiers take possession of the Hall of the Assembly — Fragments of the Assembly convene elsewhere — Events of Wednesday — Preparations for Thursday — Appearance of Paris on Thursday — The Military — The Barricades — Massacres in the Streets — Rout of the Insurgents — Defeat of the Red Republicans — Number of Killed and Wounded — Louis Napoleon's Proclamation — The General Election — The President's Active Measures — The Results of the Ballots — Louis Napoleon President for Ten Years — *Te Deum* — The President Removes to the Tuilleries — His subsequent Proceedings — General Changarnier — Cavaignac — Lamoricière — General Leflo — General Bedeau — La Grange — M. Grippo — Colonel Charras — M. Roger (du Nord) — M. Baze — M. Thiers — The Consternation of the Historian of the Revolution, The Consulate and the Empire.

WE have now arrived at an achievement in the life of this remarkable man, which displays such superior ability and resolution on his part, as to redeem his fame from all the obloquy and ridicule with which the abortive conspiracies of Strasburg and Boulogne had loaded it. Other great aspirants after supreme power have also failed in their first endeavors, who afterward succeeded in the attempt, and their names have long been inscribed on the rolls of immortality. Such were Pisistratus, the tyrant of Athens, and Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse. And in the same admired catalogue of bold and gifted adventurers, the pen of history will henceforth forever inscribe the name of Louis Napoleon.

On Monday evening, December 1st, 1851, a gay and elegant assemblage occupied the gilded saloons of the palace of the *Elysée*. It was one of the weekly receptions which the President of the Republic gave to the fashionable world

of Paris. He himself, on that occasion, mingled among the throng with the same air of self-possessed and quiet ease which usually characterized him. No observer who at that moment scrutinized his marble countenance, would for a moment have suspected that Louis Napoleon then stood over a suppressed volcano, which in a few hours was to break forth with prodigious violence; whose energies would, unless skilfully and successfully directed, involve him in inevitable ruin. But such was the fact. That night was the eve of one of the most decisive and important events in modern history; and he who had long planned its details in secret, who had anticipated and guarded every possible contingency, who was about to strike a desperate blow which would secure him either an imperial diadem or an ignominious scaffold, was as calm, to all outward seeming, as a sleeping infant!

At midnight the company disappeared, and the arch-conspirator withdrew to his secret cabinet. He was accompanied only by M. Mocquard, his private secretary. In a short time three persons were admitted. These were M. de Persigny, General St. Arnaud, and M. de Morny, the step-brother of the President, an illegitimate son of Queen Hortense. These were the three chief confederates of the President in the planning and execution of the *coup d'etat*. This was their last conference before the blow was struck. Some important details yet remained to be completed during the hours of that night, which were entrusted to their hands. After some consultation, the prince, taking a small key which was suspended from his watch-guard, opened the drawer of a bureau, and gave to each of his chief accomplices a sealed packet. These packets contained their last written instructions. Then shaking each one by the hand, he dismissed them to their respective posts of duty.

Paris during that night reposed in her usual tranquility. The gay myriads who reveled in her stately dwellings, and the unhappy and dependent multitudes who crowded her humbler abodes, slept or waked apprehensive of no change.

While they slumbered the conspirators were busy. M. de Beville, an orderly sergeant of the President, proceeded in a carriage at one o'clock to the government printing-office, superintended by M. Georges, for the purpose of having the proclamations printed. He had previously informed Georges that some important work was to be done that night, and had instructed him to have his workmen in their places. The manuscript proclamations were immediately put into their hands, and in an hour the printing was completed. Meanwhile, however, the printing office had been quietly surrounded by a guard, the doors locked, and no one permitted to leave until next morning. Beville then distributed the proclamations to trusty posters, employed by M. Maupas, the Chief of Police, for that purpose. In an hour every prominent place in the capital was plastered over with proclamations. One of these was a decree which announced that the National Assembly was dissolved, that universal suffrage was re-established, that the Council of State was dismissed, that the first military division was placed in a state of siege, and that the French people were convoked for their votes from the 14th to the 21st of December. Another proclamation was addressed to the army, which was well adapted to win their adhesion to the cause of the usurper. The third proclamation was addressed to the nation, in which the President set forth the anarchy and imbecility of the government, resulting from the hostility of the Assembly; made an appeal to the voice of the entire nation; invited them to vote upon the question of a "responsible chief for ten years;" ministers to be dependent on the Executive, and a legislative assembly to be composed of two branches, the one to counterbalance the other. Every Frenchman who was entitled to vote was called upon to decide whether the authority of the President should be continued; and the polls were to remain open during eight days.

When the Parisians awoke in the morning, they found these proclamations boldly staring them in the face from every corner of the street. But while this part of the cou-

spiracy was thus completed, other and more difficult portions of it were being admirably executed. The Chief of Police, M. de Maupas, distributed a proclamation of his own, directing that all good citizens should assist in preserving order, and declaring that every violation of the public peace should be severely punished. During the early hours of the morning of the second of December, before the darkness had given place to the dawn, large bodies of troops were quietly entering the capital from every direction, and were taking the positions respectively assigned them, on the Boulevards, the Quay d'Orsay, the Carousal, the Garden of the Tuilleries, the Place Concord, and the Champs Elysées. At three o'clock in the morning, General Magnan, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army of Paris, having received his secret orders from the President, had transmitted them to his subordinates; and these dispositions had been made in accordance with those instructions.

At four o'clock in the morning the office of the Minister of Police was filled by secret and trusty agents, and by forty commissaries who had been notified to be in attendance at that time. They were placed in possession, separately, of warrants for the arrest of certain distinguished persons in the capital. The ringing of a small bell summoned them successively into the inner cabinet of the chief, who gave them their instructions, and then dismissed them. Each one was accompanied by fifteen or twenty soldiers; he was ordered to make the arrest entrusted to him precisely at five minutes after six o'clock; and detachments of troops were stationed in the vicinity of the house of each captive, to protect the agents of the government from the interference of the populace. Every arrest was made successfully, and without any public disturbance. Seventy-eight captures were thus executed at the same moment. Eighteen were influential members of the Assembly. The rest were distinguished generals, orators, leaders of secret societies, commanders of barricades, and hostile editors. They were all conveyed by different

routes to the prison called *Mazas*, situated in the south-eastern part of Paris.<sup>1</sup>

But all the details of the conspiracy had not yet been completed. At six o'clock in the morning M. Persigny, attended by the forty-second regiment of the line, marched to the Hall of the National Assembly, and took possession of the courts around it. The soldiers then entered the Hall, occupied it, and arrested the questors who were in attendance. At the same time, M. de Morny, at the head of two hundred and fifty chasseurs, invaded the Ministry of the Interior; assumed the functions of the chief of that office, who had been dismissed the night before; and dictated a circular to be despatched by telegraph to all the prefects of the departments of France.

Although the Hall of the Assembly was occupied by the troops, sixty representatives succeeded, early in the morning, in entering the building, one by one. They met together in one of the committee-rooms, and sent for M. Dupin, the President. He arrived, and a moment after the room was occupied by the military. M. Dupin then spoke, and protested in the name of the Assembly against the violent measures which were in progress; but turning to the representatives present, he told them that it was useless to attempt anything against force, and advised them to disperse. The representatives followed his suggestion, but they met again at the residence of M. Daru, one of the vice-presidents. Other fragments of the Assembly convened at different places, some at the house of M. Cremieux, and others in an obscure and filthy retreat in the faubourg St. Antoine. These passed decrees charging Louis Napoleon with the crime of high treason, copies of which decrees were afterward distributed through Paris, and became the cause of some of the fatal collisions

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<sup>1</sup> Vide: *Le Coup d'Etat de Louis Bonaparte, Histoire de la Persécution de Decembre, Evénemens, Prisons, Casements, et Pontons. Par Xavier Durrieu, ancien Représentant du Peuple*, 8vo, p. 192.

which took place on the succeeding Thursday. Another portion of the Assembly met at the Mayoralty of the Tenth *Arrondissement*. They scarcely amounted to one-third of the whole body. They voted the deposition of the President, the appointment of General Oudinot Commander-in-Chief of the parliamentary forces, and General Lauriston Commander of the National Guard. Their dangerous proceedings were interrupted by the arrival of troops. They refused to disperse. They were consequently all arrested, and confined in the barracks of the Quay d'Orsay. They amounted in number to two hundred and twenty.

Thus passed off the memorable second of December, 1851, the first day of the world-renowned *coup d'etat*. Not a drop of blood had yet been spilled; and Louis Napoleon contemplated with exultation, in the privacy of his cabinet in the palace, the commencement, and perhaps the successful termination, of this most remarkable and daring movement, which opened to him the secure and inevitable pathway to the imperial throne.

Wednesday, the third of December, dawned. During the previous night, the hostile factions had not been idle. Appalled and astounded as they had been, by the suddenness, the mystery, and the simultaneous vigor of the blow which had prostrated at the same instant so many of the enemies of the President, they were not yet disheartened. They had held secret meetings at the Café Tortoni, at the Café de Paris, and in the Italian Boulevards. Here the decrees of the fragments of the National Assembly were read and approved. The three great measures of the President on the first day of the movement, had been so successfully and suddenly executed, that resistance in order to be efficient must be deliberate. Those three measures were the arrest of dangerous persons; the occupation of the Hall of the Assembly; and the distribution of troops to the number of fifty thousand, to all the necessary portions of the capital. Apprehensive of an impending conflict, the stores and shops re-

mained closed during Wednesday; although the Boulevards were crowded with people. At three o'clock on the afternoon of this day, Louis Napoleon boldly rode with several attendants along the principal streets, and reviewed a division of cavalry in the Champs Elysées. In the evening the Presidential palace was thrown open, and a general reception took place. The success of the *coup d'état* was now regarded as certain by the majority of the inhabitants of the capital; as was evinced by the large number of prominent personages who, on that occasion, tendered their services and allegiance to the President. During Wednesday, December 3d, Paris remained tranquil. The theatres were all crowded in the evening. Never had a more brilliant and splendid audience graced the Italian Opera. The capital seemed as much as ever the gay centre of the world's luxury, magnificence and vice. But Thursday, the great day of carnage and blood, was rapidly approaching.

Louis Napoleon, anticipating the coming danger, had prepared for it. The morning light revealed to the astonished Parisians, long and almost endless lines of soldiers drawn up on both sides of the Boulevards, and on all the great thoroughfares. The soldiers had been abundantly supplied with brandy before leaving their barracks; and they were disposed to be furious and bloody. The opposing factions had been at work, and this was the day upon which they resolved to try their strength. They had determined that France should not be surrendered to the usurper without a desperate struggle. The following appeal, among others, was posted on the Boulevards, signed by Victor Hugo: "Art. 68. The Constitution is entrusted to the protection and patriotism of the French citizens. Louis Napoleon is outlawed. The state of siege is abolished. Universal suffrage is re-established. Vive la République. To arms! For the United Mountain."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Histoire des Crimes du deux Décembre, par Victor Schoelchur, Représentant de Peuple, passim*. The several works published by the irate



Early in the morning, barricades were erected in many of the streets. They were attacked and taken by the troops with little difficulty. At one of these, the representative Baudin was killed; and he was the first who fell. The minister of war published a proclamation, advising all the inhabitants of the capital to remain in their houses; and declaring that all who were found defending the barricades, or taken with arms in their hands, should be shot. The chief barricades had been erected in the neighborhood of the Porte St. Denis, the Porte St. Martin, and in the streets adjacent to them. The troops were quietly demolishing these until twelve o'clock in the forenoon. St. Arnaud, the Minister of War, had entrusted the conduct of affairs on this critical occasion, to General Magnan. As the middle of the day approached, the excitement throughout the capital became more and more intense. Still the troops made no hostile demonstration, and their apparent reluctance filled the Red Republicans with hope. The streets were now full of tumultuous crowds; and at two o'clock the general order was given to all the troops to advance simultaneously and clear the streets. They obeyed. The division which marched along the Boulevards was fired upon from the roofs and windows; and then the general massacre began. An irregular battle ensued, which continued for several hours. Many were slain on both sides. The streets were thus gradually cleared; but the ground was covered with the bodies of the dying and the dead. Some were killed who took no share whatever in the conflict, but had been drawn by curiosity to their windows. As the soldiers could not distinguish between friends and foes, many innocent persons fell victims to their imprudence and carelessness.

During several hours the capital was the scene of an irregular conflict; but by five o'clock in the afternoon all was over.

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and frantic Schoelcher in reference to Louis Napoleon, should be read with caution; his passions have led him always to exaggerate, and his statements must be received *cum grano salis*.

Tranquility was again restored. The victorious troops retained possession of the streets; the vanquished citizens and insurgents remained concealed in their houses. The dead were quickly buried, and numerous patrols which scoured the city in all directions, arrested every person whose appearance and movements were in the least degree suspicious. During Thursday night, silence, not unmingled with terror, pervaded the capital. When Friday dawned, no sign of resistance was exhibited. The opposing factions had been completely crushed. The troops marched through every part of the city, but no foe appeared. The bold *coup d'état* of the President had been completely successful. He who had blundered and failed so ignominiously at Strasburg and Boulogne had triumphed gloriously at Paris.

The number of killed and wounded during this memorable struggle has been variously estimated, and in some instances absurdly magnified. The most reliable supposition is that which places the number of slain at two hundred and twenty-five, and the wounded at four hundred. Of these, there were thirty killed and a hundred and eighty wounded on the part of the soldiers. Throughout the country the excitement became intense. There were insurrections in twenty-five departments at once. The Socialists were at the bottom of these movements, and their fury was expended against all those who represented order, wealth, rank and respectability. In some places the churches were burned, the priests were assaulted, women were outraged; murder, pillage, and conflagration prevailed. But all these disorders were gradually put down by the army and by the decisive and rapid measures adopted by the President. At the conclusion of this memorable week all the disturbances were quelled; order again reigned throughout France, the capital was tranquil, the dead were buried, the wounded were conveyed to the hospitals, the most active and dangerous anarchists were imprisoned, the Assembly was obliterated, and Louis Napoleon had realized at last the life-long aspiration of his heart; the dying prayer

of Hortense was at length fulfilled, and her son, the heir of the great Napoleon, had become the absolute ruler of France!

Order having been restored and submission enforced throughout the capital and throughout France, by the efficient aid of the soldiery, Louis Napoleon addressed the following proclamation to the French people on Monday, December 8th, one week after the commencement of the *coup d'etat*:

“FRENCHMEN: The disturbances are quelled. Whatever may be the decision of the people, society is re-established. The first part of my task is fulfilled; I knew that by appealing to the nation to put an end to party dissensions, I should not endanger the public security.

“Why should the people revolt against me?

“If I no longer possess your confidence, if your ideas are changed, it is unnecessary to have recourse to insurrection: it is enough to deposit a negative vote in the ballot-box. I shall always respect the decree of the people.

“But, until the voice of the nation has been heard, I shall not shrink from any effort, from any sacrifice, to foil the attempts of the disaffected. Besides, this has now become an easy task.

“On the one hand, there has been shown the folly of contending against an army, united by the ties of discipline, and inspired by the sentiments of military glory and devotion to the country.

“On the other hand, the calm attitude of the inhabitants of Paris, and the disapproval with which they blighted the insurrection, fully proved on which side the capital declared itself.

“In those populous wards where sedition formerly broke forth so readily amongst workmen, ever ready to obey its impulses, anarchy, this time, has only encountered a profound and steady repugnance for its illusions

“Thanks to the intelligent and patriotic inhabitants of Paris. Let them rest assured that my only ambition is to insure peace and prosperity to France

“Let them continue to lend their aid to the government, and the country shall soon quietly accomplish the solemn act which should usher in a new era to the republic.”

The President immediately followed up this proclamation with other decrees which tended to promote order, submission, security, and the happiness of the people. He restored the church of St. Genevieve to its original purpose, the service of religion. Other grave changes were quickly made, which were calculated to obliterate the reign and influence of infidelity, confusion, and the absurd extremes of socialism. But the chief matter which occupied the attention of the President at this crisis, was the proper management of the general election which was about to ensue; when the French people were to vote upon the proposed presidency of ten years, and to signify their approval of the results of the *coup d'etat*.

This general election was in reality a stupendous farce. Orders were sent beforehand to all the prefects and military commanders, directing them to take every precaution to secure a vast majority of ballots for the President. The voters were forbidden to use the ballot-box. They were compelled to give their suffrages openly. They marched to the polls between double rows of fixed bayonets. The partisans and agents of the President were dispersed all over the country, and were active both day and night in making converts to his cause. He proclaimed a decree immediately before the election, denouncing socialism and secret societies, and threatening transportation to Cayenne to all who dared to defend their doctrines or support their measures. The process of extermination was actually commenced, and eight thousand Red Republicans were arrested and thrown into prison, and afterward sent to perish or to pine upon the bleak wastes of that distant colony.

The ballotings commenced throughout France on the 20th of December. The President and his emissaries had executed all their plans with energy and success. Between the prevalent desire of peace and order, the wishes of the

great Bonaparte faction, and the terror which controlled their enemies, there could be no uncertainty as to the result. The Royalists or Legitimists, and the Socialists, did not dare to approach the polls, which were everywhere surrounded by a stern array of military power. In many communes there was not a single negative vote deposited. On the 31st of December, at eight o'clock in the evening, the members of the committee appointed to present to the President the returns of the election, proceeded to the Palace Elysée to perform that duty. The result of the election held in eighty-six departments of France, in Algiers, in the army and in the navy, gave the President a vast majority.<sup>1</sup> Louis Napoleon was President of France for ten years; and in reply to the address of the committee, he expressed his thanks to the nation which had so liberally supported him, saying nothing however of the tyranny and terror which had influenced the votes of so many myriads of the electors.

On the next day, Sunday, January 1st, 1852, the ancient cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris, was decorated with all possible splendor; a Te Deum was chanted by the Archbishop, attended by a large concourse of priests, and the utmost pomp and grandeur of the Catholic service were expended upon the imposing ceremonial. After the conclusion of the service, the President for Ten Years, or in other words, the Emperor of France, Napoleon III., returned to the Palace of the Tuilleries, the former abode of imperial state, where he has ever since continued to reside.

Thus terminated in complete success, the bold and desperate stroke of Louis Napoleon, for the attainment of the supreme power. The most dangerous and perhaps the most difficult portion of his life-task had been accomplished. Yet a vast deal remained to be achieved, before his power, his glory,

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<sup>1</sup> Total number of votes.....	8,116,773
In the affirmative.....	7,439,216
In the negative.....	640,737
Irregular votes.....	36,820

and even his reputation, could be placed upon a secure elevation, where they would be unassailable. To the completion of his mighty and ambitious work, he now assiduously addressed himself. But before we proceed to narrate the history of the events which ensued after the *coup d'etat*, let us glance more in detail at some of the less important but not less interesting events associated with the great blow in Paris. The incidents connected with the arrest of the chief opponents of the President were diverting in the extreme; and we give them mainly as taken from the narrative of a contemporary writer:

The arrest of General Changarnier, the most important of all, had been entrusted to two men of extraordinary energy, Leras, commissary of police, and Baudinet, captain of the Republican Guard. They were assisted by fifteen chosen agents, thirteen Republican Guards, and by a picket of ten men on horseback.

At five minutes past six, Leras rang at the door of the general's house. The porter refused to open the gate, and being evidently on his guard, an agent was ordered in a low voice to talk to him so as to occupy him at the gate, and prevent his giving warning to the general. By the side of the gate and belonging to the house, was a grocer's shop; some customers were already at the counter, and it occurred to Leras that the grocer's lodgings must communicate with the yard. He went into the store and demanded the key of the passage in an authoritative tone; he obtained it, and entered the house with his followers. The porter had already given the alarm by a loud ringing of the bells. Leras rushed up the stairs, and hastily entered the general's apartment. At the same moment an inner door was opened, and the general appeared at his bedroom door, in his shirt, with bare feet, and a pistol in each hand.

The commissary caught his arms, and said, "What are you about, general? Your life is not in danger. Why defend it? I came to arrest you. We are thirty to one. Resistance is useless."

The general became calm, gave up his pistols, and said, "I will follow you — I am going to dress myself." He was then attired by his servant, and observed to Leras: "I know M. de Maupas to be a gentleman; will you tell him that I depend on his courtesy not to deprive me of my servant, whom I cannot do without?" The request was instantly granted. A carriage was at the door; the general took his seat in it, two agents sitting before him, and Leras by his side. He still maintained a proud, defiant air, and occasionally looked out of the windows, as if expecting to see some disturbance.

"Do you know," said he to the commissary, "what a narrow escape you have had? In one second more you were a dead man! I should have regretted it, however, for I see you had no arms, and only did your duty."

"If you had killed me, general," said Leras, "you would have only made a widow and four orphans to no purpose."

"But what is this *coup d'etat* for?" abruptly asked the general. "The President's re-election was certain. He is giving himself much needless trouble." The commissary did not answer these questions.

When informed that he was only going to prison, he became more calm. He had at first supposed they were taking him to Vincennes to be shot. During the journey he remarked: "When the President is engaged in a foreign war, he will be glad to send for me, to intrust me with the command of an army." The carriage stopped before the gate of the prison called Mazas, situated in the south-east of Paris, very strong, but new, clean, and airy. Here the general was safely secured, though invariably treated with every respect.

The arrest of General Cavaignac was effected with no less ease and promptitude. The general was asleep when the commissary knocked at the door of his humble residence, in the Rue du Helder. Admission was refused, and the commissary threatened to burst it open, when the general opened it himself. The commissary said, "General, you are my

prisoner ; all resistance is useless ; I am ordered to seize your person in virtue of a warrant which I will read to you."

The general was greatly exasperated. He struck the table with his fist, and used some very violent expressions. The commissary tried to calm him, but the general said, "What do you mean by arresting me ? Give me your names." "Certainly, general," replied the commissary ; "we will not conceal them from you ; but this is not the time. It is necessary to dress and follow us."

The general quickly recovered his dignity. "It is well, sir," said he. "Send out your people ; let me dress, and I will be ready in a moment." The commissary complied, and the general again said, "Sir, grant me two favors ; one is permission to write a letter to a lady whom I was to marry the day after to-morrow ; the other is that I may go with you alone to my place of destination." The commissary readily acquiesced. The letter to Mademoiselle Odier, the lady in question, released her from the engagement between them ; but the general soon received a reply, stating that she considered the arrest only an additional reason why she should remain faithful to it.

In the carriage the general asked, "Where are you taking me ?" "To Mazas," was replied. "Am I the only one arrested ?" "General, I am not at liberty to answer that question." For the rest of the journey the prisoner maintained a gloomy silence.

General Lamoricière was also fast asleep when the commissary rang the bell. The domestic opened the door, but seeing the multitude, he ran away, shouting, "Thieves !" He was soon caught, however, and compelled to conduct the commissary to his master's room. The general arose without a word, and began to dress himself. Looking towards the chimney-piece, he asked the servant what had become of the money he had placed there.

"It is put away safely," said the servant.



“Sir,” said the commissary, “that observation is very insulting to me. Do you take us for thieves?”

“And how do I know that you are not?” asked the general. The commissary showed him the badge and read the warrant for his arrest. The general was then silent.

As they were going to the carriage the commissary said: “General, I have orders from the prefect of police to treat you with all possible consideration, and I wish to act with the greatest leniency; I will put you into a carriage alone with myself, if you will give me your word of honor that you will not attempt to escape.” “I promise nothing, I answer for nothing,” hastily replied the general; “do with me as you please.”

In passing by the Palace of the Legion of Honor, he put his head out of the window, and attempted to harangue the soldiers. But the commissary drew him back, let down the blinds, and told him he should be compelled to use harsh measures if he attempted to do so again. The general said, “Do as you please;” but when he arrived at Mazas he appeared much more calm.

He begged the commissary not to seize his arms, which were of value, and to send him some cigars, and Thiers' “*History of the French Revolution.*” The commissary complied with his wishes.

General Leflô, who was lodging in the Assembly, was in bed when the commissary awoke him and showed him his warrant. He arose immediately, but while dressing uttered fierce threats against the commissary, and bitter invectives against the President of the republic. “Napoleon wishes to make a *coup d'etat.* We will shoot him at Vincennes, and shoot you along with him.” When he was getting into the carriage, he addressed the colonel of the forty-second, and wished to harangue the soldiers. The colonel ordered him to be silent, and the soldiers crossed their bayonets on him. From the Assembly to the prison General Leflô did not utter a word

General Bedeau took matters even less coolly. When the servant had half opened the door, the commissary pushed it wide open, and the frightened servant running away, he followed him until he came to the general's bedside, when he immediately announced his orders. The general was thunderstruck, and protested loudly against such a violation of the Constitution.

"You are acting in opposition to the laws," said he to the commissary. "You must not forget that I am a representative of the people, and the vice-president of the Assembly; you cannot arrest me, since you cannot assert that you have taken me *in flagrante delicto*."

The commissary said he only did his duty.

"What is your name?" asked the general.

"Hubaut," said the commissary.

"M. Hubaut," said the general, "I have seen honorable mention made of your name in the papers, and I am astonished that you could be the man to undertake arresting me. I am vice-president of the Assembly; I have already shed my blood for the cause of order; and I can risk my life again."

"I cannot comment on my warrant," said the commissary: "I can only execute it. You have risked your life, general, in defence of the laws; do you think I am not willing to risk mine in the execution of my orders? You had better get up with good will; and do not compel me to use harsh measures."

The general arose, but dressed himself with the greatest slowness. At last, when he was dressed, he refused to stir. "You must use force," said he to the commissary. "I will not go unless I am carried off. Now I dare you to seize the vice-president of the National Assembly by the collar, and drag him off."

"Do you acknowledge, sir," said the commissary, "that I have acted towards you with all possible civility?" The general did not deny it, and the commissary, seizing him by the collar, began to drag him along. He made vigorous

resistance, however, and it was not without much difficulty that he was forced into the carriage, where he still continued to shout "Treason! to arms! I am the vice-president of the National Assembly, and they have arrested me!" His cries attracted the notice of passers by, and the *sergens de ville* had to draw their swords while following the carriage, which, however, arrived without accident at Mazas.

Colonel Charras at first refused positively to open his door, but seeing it begin to yield, said, "Stop, I will admit you," and directly opened it. The commissary told him his business, and the colonel replied: "I knew it; I fully expected it; I might easily have made my escape, but I would not desert my post. I thought it would happen two days ago, and under that conviction I had loaded my pistol; but I have discharged it;" and he pointed to a double-barrelled pistol on the chest of drawers. "Had you come that day," he added, "I would have blown your brains out." He entered the carriage quietly, and was also conveyed to Mazas.

The arrest of the civilians did not present the same dangers as the capture of the military commanders. M. La Grange submitted very peaceably. He protested, however, against the violation of the Constitution; said he had only to fire a pistol-shot out of the window to call the people to arms; that if he chose to defend himself he could murder all the policemen; and that they should use force to carry him from his house.

On his way to Mazas he declared several times: "It is a bold game, but it is well played." In the prison he said to General Lamoricière: "Well, general, we wished to put the fellow in, but he has put us in instead."

M. Grippo, the fiery Socialist, had a complete arsenal stowed away under his bed; a large pile of newly-repaired arms, two daggers, a loaded pistol, and a magnificent red cap. The sight of the commissary, however, completely prostrated M. Grippo. When questioned as to the arms found under his bed, he said he had purchased them, as he

had a *taste for the navy*. Madame Grippo, a most energetic woman, asked her husband in the strongest terms: "Is it possible you have so little courage as to allow yourself to be arrested without making any resistance?" But her eloquence had no effect; M. Grippo surrendered without a blow.

M. Roger du Nord behaved like a nobleman of the last century on receiving an order to enter the Bastille. He welcomed the commissaries with the utmost politeness, begged them to excuse him while his servant was shaving him and fixing his hair, and as they were waiting, hoped they would take some cake and wine.

"So we have a *coup d'etat* then," said he, pleasantly. "I knew all about it two days ago. People can have friends everywhere. *Ma foi*, I like it better than the stupid part we were playing at the Assembly. Louis Napoleon will succeed. That's incontestable."

M. Baze, the indomitable questor, did not submit with such good grace. The officers found him standing at his bedroom door, in his drawers and a splendid morning gown. He assumed an oratorical and theatrical air.

"Commissaries," said he, "in the name of the national representation, outraged in my person, I pronounce you to be without the pale of the law!" He had no arms, which was fortunate; for if he had there can be little doubt, from the way in which he kicked, bit, and scratched the policemen as they were carrying him to the carriage, that he would have done some serious injury before he was finally locked up in Mazas.

M. Thiers was sound asleep when M. Hubaut, senior, entered his bedroom. The commissary quietly drew back the crimson damask curtains, and explained the object of his visit. M. Thiers sprang bolt upright, put his hands to his eyes, and lifting up his white cotton nightcap, asked: "What is all this?"

"I am come to search your house; but do not be alarmed; no harm will be done you, monsieur; there is no fear for

your life." The last assurance was needed, for M. Thiers seemed much alarmed.

A search having been made in M. Thiers' cabinet without bringing forward any political correspondence, the commissary expressed surprise. M. Thiers replied that for some time past, he had always addressed his political correspondence to England, and that none would be found in his house. He exhibited much hesitation and alarm when asked to descend to the carriage. His fears were not diminished when he saw the road the carriage took. Still he continued to talk; at first he used the most persuasive or the most threatening arguments to induce his captors to release him; then finding such efforts useless, he delivered himself of a very eloquent effusion upon the gravity of his present situation. Arriving at the prison he asked if he might have his *café au lait* very hot, and some books. He was overwhelmed with attentions, but his courage quite forsook him, and he began to weep. When some of his companions were removed to Ham, he was excused from accompanying them; and finally, as confinement aggravated a disease which afflicted him in the throat, he was sent off to Germany.

## CHAPTER XI.

Progress of Louis Napoleon's Ambition — The Empire — Popular Acts of Government — The New Constitution — The Prevalence of Alarms — Growth of Socialism — The President's Journey through the Provinces — The Infernal Machine at Marseilles — Decree against the Property of the Orleans Family — Excuses for that Decree — The Restoration of the Empire — Return of the Votes — Reign of Terror — Proposals for the Marriage of the Emperor — Their Refusal — The Parisian Belle — Qualities of the Countess de Teba — She is selected by Louis Napoleon as his Empress — His Address to the Senate — The Imperial Nuptials — Imposing Ceremonies on the occasion — National Rejoicings and Congratulations — The Emperor's Address to the Senate — Prospects of the Empire.

AFTER the attainment of the Presidency for Ten Years, the next thing, and the last, was the proclamation of the Empire. One year after the *coup d'etat*, and on the day of its first anniversary, the Empire was announced. The intrigues and labors of a year were necessary to accomplish this result. We will now proceed to narrate the events and the machinations which brought about that great consummation.

The first measure to be taken was to win the confidence, and to allay the fears, of the nation, by judicious and popular acts of government. Louis Napoleon, having thrown great censure on the conduct of the Assembly, in impeding the measures of the administration, now wished to show how much better he could flourish without it. Letters of credit were given to the Minister of Finance for the department of Public Works; and large sums were appropriated to internal improvements. Two millions and a half of francs were allowed for improving the navigation of the Seine; a million and a half for the same purpose on the Rhone; half a million for the improvement of the harbor of Boulogne; half a million

for the works of defence on the Point de Grâce; and other appropriations of the same nature were made.

The sanitary, social, and domestic condition of the numerous working classes of the capital and of the nation engaged the special attention of the President. A large amount of property taken from the estates of the Orleans family, which were alienated to the state, was so invested as to ameliorate their condition. Many improvements were *commenced*, throughout France, intended to benefit the working classes, and to promote their health and comfort; and as the completion of all these works depended on the continuance of the power of the President, their progress operated strongly in favor of the consolidation of his supremacy, in the wishes and the hopes of the laboring orders throughout France.

A new Constitution had been promised the French people; and on the 16th of January, 1852, its cardinal features were publicly announced. The leading doctrine of this document is the direct responsibility of the Chief of the government to the people of France. In other words, it invested all power in the hands of the President, making him in effect an absolute sovereign. But, as yet, the nation were imposed upon and deluded by high-sounding phrases; by the assertion of popular freedom; by promises, engagements and obligations on the part of the President, which served to keep up the delusion that there was no diminution of liberty, no increase of despotic power in France. The spirit and principle of "Centralization" was the specious phrase under which all the actual and the prospective assumptions of power were disguised and palliated. In this Constitution, speaking of the President, and his authority, its author says:

"Being responsible, his actions must be free, and without hindrance. Hence arises the obligation of his having ministers who may be the honored and powerful auxiliaries of his thoughts, but who no longer form a responsible council composed of jointly responsible members, a daily obstacle to the special influence of the chief of the State—a council, the ex-

pression of a policy emanating from the Chambers, and for that very reason exposed to frequent changes, which render impossible a continuous policy, or the application of a regular system.

“The present Constitution has only settled that which it was impossible to leave uncertain. It has not shut up within insurmountable barriers the destinies of a great people. For change it has left a margin sufficiently large to allow, in great crises, other means of safety than the calamitous expedient of revolution.

“The Senate can, in concert with the Government, modify all that is not fundamental in the Constitution; but as to any modifications of the fundamental bases sanctioned by your suffrages, they can only become definitive after having received your ratification.

“Thus the people remain master of their destiny. Nothing fundamental is effected without their will.

“Such are the ideas, such the principles, which you have authorized me to apply. May this Constitution give to our country calm and prosperous days!—may it prevent the return of those intestine struggles in which victory, however legitimate, is always dearly bought! May the sanction which you have given to my efforts be blessed by Heaven! Then peace will be assured at home and abroad—my ardent hopes will be fulfilled — my mission will be accomplished.”

It must be admitted that nothing could be better adapted than such specious declarations, to “pull the wool” over the eyes of *la grand nation*!

But Louis Napoleon had a much deeper game to play than the utterance of superficial and plausible phrases. He set his myriads of agents to work throughout France, to excite alarms and spread terror among all classes, in reference to the secret and dangerous growth of the Socialists, who were represented as political monsters with a thousand hideous heads, whose aim it was to overturn all law, security, order, and property. These agents declared incessantly that there



was but one of two things inevitable; either the return of ruin and chaos, or the consolidation of all power in the vigorous hands of the President, and the re-establishment of the Empire. The most efficient aids and emissaries of Louis Napoleon were the priests. He had secretly made his bargain with the hierarchy. The church and her powers were to be re-instated in their ancient glory, with the re-establishment of the Empire; and in consequence, the priesthood all over France worked day and night in behalf of their patron. In the confessional especially, they were indefatigable; and nothing was heard of scarcely but the horrid growth of infidelity and socialism, and the advantage of the Empire; which, by the establishment of order and supreme power in the hands of Louis Napoleon, would secure to all good Catholics the triumph of religion and virtue. The dark and nefarious powers of superstition were enlisted to their utmost extent in his behalf.

When Louis Napoleon supposed that the public mind had been properly prepared by his agents, to make demonstrations of a popular character in his favor, he undertook a journey through some of the provinces. The prefects, majors, military commanders, and all other persons possessing authority had received their instructions long before. Every possible expedient was employed to excite the enthusiasm of the multitude in favor of the President. In some places these precautions were unnecessary, for there he and his government were popular. Elsewhere, however, they were indispensable to the proper exhibition of the adulation and enthusiasm of the populace.

Accordingly, wherever the President appeared on this journey, he was greeted with universal shouts of *Vive l'Empereur!* At Bourges, Nevers, Moulins, Grenoble, and many other places, his reception was most enthusiastic. But when he arrived at Marseilles, he came very near making an abrupt termination both of his journey and his life. As the candidate for the imperial throne proceeded through the chief

streets of this city, they were strewed with flowers. Multitudes of people crowded the thoroughfares; but it was observed that they were anxious and uneasy in their appearance, and did not seem to look at the pageant so much as at the surrounding houses; at vacancy, in fact everywhere, but never at any specific object. Nosegays in the greatest profusion were showered upon the carriage which conveyed the President and St. Arnaud, the Minister of War. Suddenly in their pathway a large pile of roses was observed to obstruct their progress. An officer commenced to remove it, when beneath its fragrant and odorous masses an infernal machine was found concealed, which in a few moments would have exploded, and blown everybody within reach to atoms.

This incident considerably disturbed the serenity of the President. He immediately returned to Paris, overwhelmed with disagreeable reflections. He was at a loss to which party to attribute this conspiracy against his life — whether to the Legitimists, the Orleanists, or the Socialists. Yet it did not for a moment deter him from the execution of his aims in regard to the Empire. His next step was to negotiate with the several courts of Europe in reference to the restoration of the imperial regime. Meanwhile, innumerable memorials and appeals were sent to the President from all parts of France, beseeching him to establish order, and to crush the anarchical tendencies and disorganizing aims of all disaffected traitors to the welfare and glory of France, by the assumption of the imperial authority. If any memorials of a contrary nature were sent to the President, their reception was not proclaimed to the public in the columns of the *Moniteur*! At length the Senate, completely bought over by the agents and the money of Louis Napoleon, addressed him a memorial, representing the necessity of complying with the desire so universally and energetically expressed by the whole nation. In his reply to them, he asserted that the French people had clearly announced to him their desire for the restoration of the Empire; and he informed them that, after great deliberation, and many anxious hours of apprehension,

in consequence of the immense responsibilities involved in the assumption of the imperial authority, he had concluded to sacrifice himself to the welfare of the nation, to comply with their wishes, and to restore the Empire.

One more precaution yet remained to be taken, to secure the triumphant and unanimous declaration of the French people in favor of the Empire, at the ballot-box. The last struggle was about to be made; and it was not to be expected the hostile factions would yield without a conflict. The Orleans dynasty, of which the now defunct Louis Philippe had been the head, still possessed an immense amount of property in France, estimated at three hundred millions of francs. On the 22d of January, 1852, a decree was issued by the President, compelling them to sell this property within a year. As long as the Orleans family retained this vast wealth in France, it necessarily gave them a large degree of influence. This compulsory sale of their property was justified, both by the necessities of the case, and by the example of former rulers of France. Louis XVIII. had previously compelled the Bonapartes to do the same thing. Louis Philippe had ordered the old moth-eaten Bourbon dynasty to dispose of their wealth in France in the same manner. And the time allowed by Louis Napoleon to the Orleans family within which to execute the decree, was much longer than that specified and permitted in the other instances.<sup>1</sup> In addition

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<sup>1</sup> Another cause assigned for this rigorous treatment of the Orleans family was the fact, that, on the arrest of Louis Napoleon after the affair of Boulogne, a million dollars were said to have been taken from his person, and transmitted to the government of Louis Philippe; that this treasure constituted all the resources of his partisans both in France and out of it; and that it was never returned to the Prince at any subsequent period of his career. The fair inference therefore was, that it had been fraudulently appropriated to their own use by the king and his rapacious family. It is impossible now to ascertain the truth or the falsehood of this statement: it rests solely on the authority of Louis Napoleon; though a reasonable doubt may readily exist as to the possibility of his friends and himself accumulating so vast a sum.

to this, the decree restored the state a large amount of property which the "money-bag king" had filched from the national revenues, and were thenceforth to be appropriated to the amelioration of the condition of the working classes. A large portion of this property in fact belonged to the nation, by the operation of an old law which provided, that the possessions of any prince, on his accession to the throne, became vested immediately in the nation. Louis Philippe was called to the throne, and he accepted it, on the 7th of August, 1830; yet afterward on the 8th of that month, he made donations of an immense amount of property to his younger children, to the exclusion of his eldest son and heir. The purpose of this swindle was to prevent this wealth from vesting in the nation; and also to compel the nation to provide separately for the maintenance of his heir, when he had succeeded to the throne. All these devises were illegal and invalid.

At length, when all the preparatory steps had been taken, when the whole nation were convinced either of the benefits of the reinstated Empire, or of the uselessness of resisting its advent, a decree was issued commanding the people to declare their sentiments on the subject at the ballot-box. The same methods of constraint which had overawed and controlled the election of the President for ten years, now governed that in reference to the Empire; and the result, as might be expected, was the same. The Empire was restored in the person of Louis Napoleon; and thus, at last, after many long years of exile, labor, suffering, and intrigue, the ambitious son of Hortense mounted the very same exalted eminence which had once been occupied and adorned by the mighty Corsican!

On Thursday, the 25th November, the Chief of the State communicated with the members of the legislative body, convened from their several departments to hear the official declaration of the result of the elections, and to take part in the inauguration of the Empire. Said he:

“I have recalled you from your departments, that you may be associated with the great act which is about to be accomplished. Although the Senate and the people alone had the right to modify the Constitution, I have wished that a political body which has issued, like myself, from universal suffrage, should come to attest to the world the spontaneousness of the national movement which bears me to the Empire. I desire expressly that it should be you who, in certifying the liberty of the vote and the numerical amount of the suffrage, should prove by your declarations the complete lawfulness of my power. To declare, in fact, to-day, that authority rests on incontestable right, is to give it the necessary force for founding something durable, and to insure the prosperity of the country. The Government, as you know, will only change its form. Devoted to the great interests which intelligence brings forth and which peace develops, it will restrain itself, as it has hitherto done, within the limits of moderation; for success never swells with pride the hearts of those who see in their elevation a greater duty imposed by the people, and a more elevated mission confided by Providence.”

The return of the votes on the question of restoring the Empire, was as follows: The affirmative votes numbered 7,864,180; the negative were 253,145; the null and irregular were 63,326. Thus it appeared that through a singular combination of influences, both legitimate and illegitimate, the voice of the nation, with great unanimity, placed the imperial diadem on the head of Louis Napoleon.

Two things were necessary to consolidate the power of the new Emperor. One was to crush and exterminate his chief enemies, who still lurked in France; the other was the perpetuation of his family by a matrimonial connection. In the execution of the first of these a system of terror was inaugurated. Private houses were entered and searched. The persons, and the papers of all suspected persons, were taken; the former were conveyed to prison, the latter were sealed up and afterward examined, for the purpose of obtaining testimony.

By this means hundreds who had been the active opponents of the imperial aspirant throughout France, were soon placed beyond the reach of doing harm, by being banished to the wilds of Algiers or Cayenne.

As to the marriage of the Emperor, proposals were made by his ambassadors to several courts of Europe for the purpose of negotiating a match. One of these was the court of Sweden; but for reasons which are not clearly understood, the imperial bridegroom was refused on every hand; and Louis Napoleon had the mortification to see the fairest daughters of royalty in Europe decline his proffered alliance. Here was a dilemma which was both dangerous and disagreeable.

During the winter and spring of 1852, the gay and elegant society of Paris was enlivened by the presence of a young lady belonging to one of the noblest families of Spain. She was graceful, accomplished, beautiful, and exhibited many qualities of mind and person which were both brilliant and attractive. She was rather bold and independent in her habits and costume; but these eccentricities were of such a character as always to heighten her charms and render her more irresistibly fascinating. She was a very admirable horsewoman; and when the fair Countess de Teba rode along the Boulevards, all Paris gaped agog with admiration and wonder. She soon became the most celebrated belle of the capital. At the imperial receptions, the gilded saloons of the Tuilleries contained no face or form so bewitching, so lovely, and so pleasing as that of the young Spanish countess. The vulture eyes of the former lover of Madame Gordon and Mrs. Howard soon fastened on her. It was indeed shrewdly asserted at the time, that she was there for the express purpose of being thus fastened on! It did not require a very long period for Louis Napoleon to perceive that here was a god-send for the elect of the whole people, but the rejected of three princesses. Here was a lady of noble birth, of great wealth, of ancient descent though not born in the purple, encumbered

by no royal alliances, with no poor relations to provide for, and withal beautiful and charming in the extreme. His attentions to her gradually became marked and suggestive. He found her, upon a more intimate acquaintance, to be highly intelligent, amiable, and more than all, an admirer of his own person, talents, and fame. She seems to have made some impression on his affections, for soon he offered to share with her his throne. Thus solicited the young Countess de Teba stood on no ceremony, and accepted the somewhat mature and faded, but yet imperial bridegroom. The announcement of the coming nuptials was publicly made to the Senate on the 22d of January, 1853. In this communication the Emperor thus expressed himself:

“She who has been the object of my preference is of princely descent. French in heart, by education, and the recollection of the blood shed by her father in the cause of the Empire, she has, as a Spaniard, the advantage of not having in France a family to whom it might be necessary to give honors and fortune. Endowed with all the qualities of the mind, she will be the ornament of the throne. In the day of danger she would be one of its courageous supporters. A Catholic, she will address to Heaven the same prayers with me for the happiness of France. In fine, by her grace and her goodness, she will, I firmly hope, endeavor to revive in the same position the virtues of the Empress Josephine.

“I come then, gentlemen, to announce that I have preferred the woman whom I love and whom I respect, to one who is unknown, and whose alliance would have had advantages mingled with sacrifices. Without despising any one, I yet yield to my inclinations, after having taking counsel with my reason and my convictions. In fine, by placing independence, the qualities of the heart, domestic happiness, above dynastic prejudices and the calculations of ambition, I shall not be less strong because I shall be more free.

“Proceeding immediately to Notre Dame, I shall present the Empress to the people and to the army. The confidence

which they have in me assures me of their sympathy; and you, gentlemen, on better knowing her whom I have chosen, will agree that on this occasion, as on some others, I have been inspired by Providence."

This match was professedly one of affection and not of state policy; yet the assertion to that effect in this address would have had more influence could people have forgotten, that overtures had been previously made to several royal families, and that they had been peremptorily rejected.

Accordingly, the civil marriage of Louis Napoleon with Mdlle. de Montigo, the Countess de Teba, was celebrated at the Tuilleries on the 29th of January; and the religious ceremonies took place the next day, which was Sunday, with great splendor and magnificence at the Cathedral of Notre Dame. The Archbishop of Paris officiated on this interesting occasion. The venerable and capacious edifice was crowded with the most brilliant and elegant assemblage ever convened in France, or perhaps in the world. All the pomp of the Catholic service, all the opulence of the capital, all the beauty and brilliancy of the court, all the grim majesty of the military, whatever was illustrious in science and art, every resource of celebrity, fascination, and lavish luxury, were exhausted on the incidents and the displays of this felicitous day. The imperial couple sat on two thrones erected in front of the high altar. Sublime and heavenly melody resounded beneath the lofty arches of the ancient pile. A numerous and gorgeous array of priests assisted. The great representatives of the army, of the senate, of the municipal authorities, of the diplomatic corps, delegations from the great cities of France, and the most brilliant and beautiful female leaders of fashion in the capital, — all were there. The agitation of the young Empress, the focus of so many inquisitive eyes during the ceremony, was extreme. It was necessary for the Emperor to soothe and allay her emotions. All passed off happily and favorably; and everybody, except the fierce and implacable leaders of the dark and desperate





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THE EMPRESS EUGENIE.



factions, rejoiced at the consummation of the imperial nuptials.

The Emperor signalized his marriage by an amnesty, which restored to liberty and France nearly five thousand persons who were suffering banishment or imprisonment for political offences. The list embraced several women, and one child fourteen years of age. But it did not include any of the more dangerous and distinguished enemies of the Emperor. All the banished generals, and all the men of importance who were expelled after the events of December, 1851, still remained under the ban of exile. It was estimated that a thousand political offenders, including all those who were really dangerous, were still unpardoned. Their number was considerably augmented by the sweeping arrest on the night of the 5th of February of thirty or forty gentlemen, who were suspected by the government of being the secret Paris correspondents of Belgian, Swiss, German, and Italian journals, and of having put in circulation rumors unfavorable to the character of the new Empress. This arbitrary arrest, effected in the night, and without due process of law, or the slightest proof of offence, created a good deal of dissatisfaction and temporarily affected the funds. The Legislative Assembly met on the 14th of February, and with the other bodies was addressed by the Emperor in a brief but emphatic speech. He said that order had not been disturbed within the year; the law, in resuming its empire, had allowed the return to their homes of a majority of the men who were made the subjects of necessary rigors; the riches of the nation had increased; the activity of labor had developed itself in every branch of industry; the form of government had been changed without any shock; great works have been undertaken without any new tax or loan; peace had been maintained without weakness; all the powers have recognized the new government; and France then had institutions which could defend themselves, and the stability of which did not depend upon the life of a man. "These results," says the

Emperor, "have not cost great efforts, because they were in the minds and for the interests of all. To those who would doubt their importance, I will reply, that scarcely fourteen months ago France was delivered up to the hazards of anarchy. To those who may regret that a wider field has not been given to liberty, I will reply, that liberty has never aided in founding a durable political edifice; it crowns it when it has been consolidated by time. Let us, besides, not forget that the immense majority of the country has confidence in the present and faith in the future; there still remain incorrigible individuals, who, forgetful of their own experience, of their past errors, and of their disappointments, obstinately persist in paying no attention to the national will, deny the reality of facts, and in the midst of a sea which every day lowers more and more, call for tempests in which they would be the first to be swallowed up. These occult proceedings of the different parties serve no purpose but to show their weakness, and the government, instead of being disturbed at them, only think of governing France and tranquilizing Europe."

The Emperor further assured the legislature that all the resources of the country should be devoted to useful purposes; and that every possible means should be employed, to render France still more prosperous, secure, and happy, than she had ever been. One significant proof of the probability and the truth of this declaration was the fact that the standing army, which in Louis Philippe's reign had numbered eighty thousand men, had been, during the preceding year, reduced to thirty thousand, and was then about to be diminished to twenty thousand.

## CHAPTER XII.

Origin of the War in the Crimea — Insulting Letter of Nicholas I. to the French Emperor — Early History of the Crimea — The Empress Catherine II. — She subjugates the Crimea — Origin of Sevastopol — Nicholas I. resolves on the Conquest of Turkey — The Holy Places in Palestine — Communications between Nicholas and the British Government — The War — The Peace — The Treaty of Paris — Provisions of the Treaty — Louis Napoleon the real Hero of the War — The English Press and its Adulation of him — A Contrast — Visit of Louis Napoleon to Queen Victoria — Extract from the London Times — Addresses by Corporations — Attempt to Assassinate Louis Napoleon in Paris — Visit of Queen Victoria to Louis Napoleon — The Exhibition of the World's Industry — The French Press on the English Alliance — Birth of the Prince of Algeria — Frantic Joy of the Nation — Addresses of Congratulation — The Emperor's Answer to the Senate — His Pious Reply to the *Corps Legislatif* — Abdel-Kader — Barbes.

SCARCELY had the general joy and congratulation which attended the imperial nuptials subsided, when the political horizon of Europe became darkened with the gloomy and lowering portends of war. The memorable struggle in the East for the supremacy of the Crimea and Constantinople was about to take place. When Louis Napoleon was elevated to the imperial throne, he dispatched to the Emperor Nicholas, in common with the rest of the sovereigns of Europe, a messenger informing him of his new dignity. Nicholas returned, after some time, an answer so cold, so ambiguous, and so destitute of all courtesy — even of that hollow and worthless courtesy which usually characterizes the intercourse of sovereigns not actually engaged in war, — that Louis Napoleon could not fail to receive it as a direct insult. He determined to be revenged; but, true to his nature, he proceeded slowly and adroitly in the execution of his purpose. The

result of his machinations was the hastening on of the war in the East, and the ultimate results which followed: — the sending of a powerful French armament to the Crimea; the memorable battles of the Alma, Balaklava, Inkermann, and Sevastopol; the uniform victories of the allied armies; the baffling of the ambitious aims of the proud Czar; his deep mortification and disappointment; and even his premature death, which was undoubtedly produced by the disasters which befell his arms in the conflicts of the Crimea. By all these Louis Napoleon was in the end amply avenged!

It is a remarkable circumstance, that in this nineteenth century the mighty tide of human events has been rushing back again, from the gold-burdened climes of the West, to those venerable scenes and landmarks in the East which were renowned in ancient history and mythology; but which, during some ages past, had escaped the scrutiny and lost the interest of mankind.<sup>1</sup>

Many cycles have revolved since the quiet shores of the Euxine became the scene of war's tumultuous agitation. The triumphant legions of Alexander the Great, of Mithridates, and of Pompey, there successively discovered a congenial resting-place in their wearied careers of conquest. Afterward, the ferocious cohorts of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane, having devastated immense tracts of Asia, and spread desolation over half a continent, found themselves beneath the cool shades of the wooded vales of the Crimea; and there they also ceased their march of triumph.

In this same region, anciently termed the Tauric Chersonesus, Iphigenia, the beautiful daughter of Agamemnon, having fled in terror to escape the execution of a cruel vow, became the high-priestess of her chaste protectress, Diana; erected a splendid temple to her solemn worship; and consecrated the land forever to the sublime religion and philosophy

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<sup>1</sup> Several pages are here inserted from the author's work, entitled: 'The Life and Reign of Nicholas I., Emperor of Russia,' &c.

of Greece. And afterward, as age after age revolved, that fertile and delicious clime became successively the prey of the invading Greeks, the Romans, the Goths, the Tartars, and the Turks. At length, in the year 1774, the Empress Catherine II. of Russia, suddenly arousing herself from the voluptuous embraces of her fawning and pampered paramours, cast her ambitious eyes abroad over its rich valleys and fruit-covered plains; and she resolved that they should become incorporated into her vast empire. For a time she forgot, or at least suspended, her tender and licentious dalliances, in order to obey the promptings of a sterner and perhaps a nobler passion,—that of conquest and aggression. The policy which she adopted was the one to which the Muscovite sovereigns have ever been partial; she extended her protection first, she imposed her jurisdiction and supremacy afterward. She first induced the khans of the Crimea, by her secret emissaries, to resist the Turkish authority. A war then ensued between the sultan and his rebellious subjects. The Russian empress interfered, and at length stipulated for the independence of the Tartars from the Turkish yoke. The khans being thus free, she next provoked animosities and conflicts between them. She was again invited to interpose. She complied with the request of the khans; she took their causes of dispute into consideration; and restored peace among them by inducing the reigning khan, Sahim Gheray, to adopt Russian principles of government. This excited the rebellion of his subjects, as Catherine intended that it should; and he was forced to abdicate the throne. He was then dragged as a prisoner to an obscure Russian town; was delivered over to the Turks and was finally beheaded by them at Rhodes. Thus, the Crimea being left without a legitimate master, Russia easily assumed the sovereign power; and this lawless assumption Turkey was at last compelled to confirm and recognize, by the solemn treaty of 1784.

The Crimea being thus annexed to the Russian Empire, it was necessary to create a new metropolis for the new pro-

vince. Prince Potempkin, then the minister of the triumphant Empress, settled the question of the location of the capital, after a peculiar fashion of his own. He tossed up a coin, and Simferopol, the ancient capital, was destined still to retain that dignity. The seat of the new government was established there, large barracks were erected, and a strong garrison was placed in occupation of the works.

But still, the ambition of the invincible Catherine was not satiated. Imperial majesty and greatness were without an adequate representative among the cities of the southern extremity of her dominions. She must possess a fortress of sufficient magnitude to defend the Crimea from external attack, and as a formidable centre for her own future aggression. The old and obscure town of Akhtiar was found to offer very great advantages for such a purpose. Immediately an army of workmen were ordered thither, and enormous works were at once begun. New harbors were excavated. Immense arsenals were built. Colossal fortresses were constructed. Vast quantities of the munitions of war were accumulated. All the resources then possessed by the art of engineering were exhausted in the defence of the place, and in the construction of its works. A powerful and permanent garrison was stationed there, to overawe the Sultan, and to protect Russian commerce in the Black Sea and the Dardanelles. And this new bulwark of Russian power, this grim portend of coming aggression, was then called Sevastopol,—a name which has since become heir to a world-wide but an unfortunate celebrity. And soon the shores of the Crimea became studded with the splendid palaces and sumptuous retreats of the nobility of the Russian capital, who were enamored of its balmy skies, its delicious atmosphere, its fertile plains, and its beautiful scenery.

Nicholas I. had occupied the throne of the czars for nearly thirty years, when he seems to have come to the conclusion, that the period had at length arrived, when he should realize the glorious and crowning project of his life and ambition,—



the final and complete subjugation of the throne of the Sultans to his own, and the incorporation of the European empire of the infidels into that of the orthodox believers.

That was in truth a sublime spectacle, presented by the powerful Czar, as seated in his northern capital, he deliberately contemplated the achievement of this vast enterprise. That he never for a moment doubted the certainty of his complete success, will readily be admitted by all who are familiar with the stern character of Nicholas, with the imbecility of the sultan, and with the relative physical forces of their two empires. And this gorgeous dream of Oriental conquest was the same which had once fired the imagination of the aspiring Catherine; but which her sudden death had prevented her from attempting to realize. Alexander I. had been diverted from it, by his terrible conflicts with Napoleon I. And now Nicholas, not less ambitious and more powerful than either, determined to emulate the fame of the Great Peter, the first founder of the empire, by himself deserving the equal title of its second creator, by adding to it the vast conquests which his triumphant arms would make, over the patrimony of the descendants of the False Prophet.

Never had a more gorgeous conception than this, inflamed the imagination, and elicited the abilities, of a conqueror. It would have thrown a halo of transcendent glory around his name, had he been the ultimate vanquisher of that once formidable and sanguinary power, which for so many ages had disturbed the repose of Christendom; which had crushed the stately republic of Venice; which had assaulted the bulwarks of Vienna; which had desolated the commerce of the Mediterranean; and which had inflicted on so many myriads of unfortunate believers the horrors of a captivity far worse than death itself. And had the Czar been able to realize this stupendous scheme of conquest, his consolidated empire would then indeed have been more colossal than any other which has ever existed; than that of Alexander the Great, than that of Charlemagne, than that even of Napoleon I.

Preparatory to commencing this vast project, Nicholas endeavored to cajole and deceive the British government, either into active co-operation with him, or into a passive indifference to his measures. He took occasion to express his feigned sentiments of amity toward England, to the English ambassador then at his court, Sir H. Seymour, in February, 1854. Said he: "It is very essential that the English government and I should be on the best terms; and the necessity was never greater than at present. I beg you to convey these words to Lord John Russel. As long as we are agreed, I am quite indifferent as to the rest of Europe." "It instantly occurred to me," continued Sir H. Seymour, in reference to this conversation, "that it was incomplete, and I determined to inquire more particularly into his views. I therefore said to his majesty, 'Permit me to take a great liberty.' 'Certainly; let me hear what it is.' I observed to him that I should be particularly glad if his majesty would add a few words which would tend to calm the anxiety with regard to the affairs of Turkey, which existed in England. Said Nicholas, 'The affairs of Turkey are in a very disorganized condition. The country indeed seems to be going to ruin, (*menace ruine*;) its fall will be a great misfortune, and it is very important that England and Russia should come to a perfectly good understanding upon these affairs. We have on our hands a sick man, — a *very* sick man. It will be a great misfortune, if one of these days, he should slip away from us.'"<sup>1</sup>

In 1853, the French ambassador at Constantinople had been instructed to inquire into certain alleged grievances which were inflicted upon the Latin or Roman Christians in Palestine. The Sultan, on receiving the communication of the French ambassador, General Aupich, on the subject, im-

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<sup>1</sup> "Nous avons sur les bras un homme malade, — un homme *gravement* malade; ce sera un grand malheur si, un de ces jours, il devait nous échapper; surtout avant que toutes les dispositions nécessaires fussent prises," &c.

mediately appointed a commission to investigate the grounds of complaint. This commission declared, after the necessary examination, that the Latins were entitled to the guardianship of the "Holy Places" in question, inasmuch as they had been formerly named in a firman which the Sultan had granted to that church, as entitled to that trust.

Here then was the decided pretext for hostilities for which the Czar so eagerly searched. He immediately wrote to the Sultan, Abd-ul-Medjid, insisting that the privileges of the Greek Christians in Palestine had been invaded; and requiring that the custody of the Holy Places should be withdrawn from the Latins, and entrusted to the Greeks. The Sultan, on receiving this portentous epistle from the Czar, was terrified. He immediately annulled the proceedings of the commission, and appointed another to take the same matter into consideration. This commission attempted to obviate all causes of dispute, and reported in favor of allowing the Greek and Latin Christians to have equal access and right to the great Cupola of the Holy Sepulchre; and that the Latins should have access to the Tomb of the Virgin, and a key to the Church of Bethlehem.

To this very reasonable arrangement the French government acceded; and here would have been an end of all difficulty so far as everybody was concerned, excepting the Czar. But he did not entertain the remotest idea of being satisfied with any thing; no concession, however fair and reasonable, would have been received by him as a final adjustment of the dangerous and unhappy dispute. With the most despicable duplicity and dishonesty he directed his ambassador to insist, that the key which the Latins were to possess, should be that of a *side-door* only; and that the promulgation of the decree of the Sultan should be read in Jerusalem in the most public manner, and then announced throughout the Turkish dominions. To these absurd demands the Sultan showed an unexpected and spirited resistance. He was inflexible in reference to the important matter of the *key*; and the entrance

to the Great Door of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was formally entrusted to the Latin monks.

Nicholas pretended to be incensed at the stubbornness of the Sultan, and his resistance to his just demands; and in the spring of 1853 he announced that he was about to send to Constantinople an extraordinary ambassador of high rank, commissioned to set forth in full his demands. On the 1st of March, accordingly, Prince Menschikoff arrived in Constantinople; and the very next day demanded and received an audience with the Sultan. This very first procedure was an insult to the Ottoman court and sovereign, inasmuch as diplomatic etiquette imperatively required, that he should first have had an interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs. A month passed away in arrogant and unreasonable assumptions on the one side, and in vain attempts at conciliation and arrangement on the other. At length, on the 5th of May, Prince Menschikoff announced to the Divan, that he had received the *ultimatum* of the Czar, the acceptance of which on the part of the Sultan would prevent any further difficulties. This ultimatum was in substance a demand, that the Sultan should acknowledge a Russian protectorate over all the Greek subjects of the Ottoman empire,—a concession which would have been equivalent to establishing a Russian supremacy over two-thirds of the population of the Turkish dominions. Menschikoff allowed the Sultan twelve days for the acceptance of this infamous proposition; which was ultimately rejected.

† It is not our purpose to narrate all the events of the memorable war in the East. Sevastopol fell, after a siege of a year's duration, and after a hundred thousand men had perished around and within her walls. An armistice was proclaimed between the belligerent forces early in the year 1856; and, in a few weeks afterwards, the plenipotentiaries of Austria, Russia, France, Great Britain, Sardinia, and Turkey, duly accredited from their respective governments, assembled in Paris, to arrange the preliminaries and the con-

ditions of a treaty which should give permanent peace to a troubled continent.

On this important and memorable occasion, which involved the vital interests of so many millions of human beings, Austria was represented by Count Buol; Russia, by Count Orloff; France, by Prince Walewski; Great Britain, by Lord Clarendon; Sardinia, by Count Cavour; and Turkey, by Ali Pacha,—diplomats of the highest eminence and celebrity in Europe.

On Sunday, March 30th, 1856, the long and arduous labors of these plenipotentiaries terminated.

The draft of the general treaty of peace drawn up by the *Comité de Rédaction* having, in the sitting of Saturday, obtained the sanction of the Congress, the plenipotentiaries of the contracting Powers met the next day to proceed to the formal act of affixing their signatures to the document. M. Feuillet de Conches, chief of the protocol department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, had caused seven copies of the treaty, written on parchment, to be prepared and placed on the table of the conferees in such a manner that each copy was put before the plenipotentiary of the government by which it was to be ratified. After the text of the seven copies had been carefully compared, the plenipotentiaries proceeded to affix their signatures to the end of the treaty. Count Walewski, as President of the Congress, signed first, and the other representatives in the alphabetical order of their respective countries. It was at this moment that the emperor was informed by electric telegraph that the treaty of peace was being signed; and his Majesty sent back word to the members of the Congress that he would be ready to receive them after they had concluded their task. But, although the mere act of affixing their signatures occupied the plenipotentiaries but a very brief portion of time, yet the whole of the formality of signing lasted nearly two hours, as the plenipotentiaries, in addition to their signatures at the bottom of each protocol, had to affix their initials to the

different paragraphs, the whole number of such minor signatures being, it is said, thirty-eight. The plenipotentiaries of each contracting Power signed first the copy reserved for their government, and then the other plenipotentiaries signed in alphabetical order. In this manner, each contracting Power figuring at the head of the signatures of the copy which it was to ratify, all difficulties as to etiquette or precedence were avoided. To each signature was immediately attached the privy seal of each plenipotentiary. Immediately after the close of the sitting, all the plenipotentiaries repaired together to the Tuilleries, where they had the honor of being received by the Emperor. Cabinet couriers were sent off in the evening to London, Vienna, Berlin, St. Petersburg, Turin, and Constantinople, in order to submit the treaty to the ratification of their respective sovereigns.

The first point of this treaty implied a material guarantee—the neutralization of the Black Sea—the only high-road to Constantinople for a Russian fleet. Russia was to destroy her arsenals and forts in the Black Sea, which was to become a commercial sea, with European consuls in its ports. On the land side, the Danubian Principalities were to form a barrier against any further attempt at aggression by Russia.

The second point had a moral, political, as well as a general object. Russia renounced all pretension to interfere in the internal administration of Turkey, which latter entered into the great family of nations.

The Emperor Alexander II. solemnly declared that he renounced sincerely and completely the traditional policy of Peter the Great and of Catherine II., as regarded the extension of the Russian Empire in the East.

The third point guaranteed the freedom of the navigation of the Danube to all countries.

The fourth point secured the immunities and privileges of the Christian subjects of the Porte.

The fifth point concerned Nicolaieff, which was to be dis-

mantled, the Aland Islands, Ismail, and Bomarsund. All these points were satisfactorily settled.

The treaty was signed with a quill expressly prepared for the occasion. The plenipotentiaries intended each to retain the pen with which he signed his name and made his flourishes. But the Empress Eugenie having expressed a desire to preserve the quill with which the treaty was executed, the plenipotentiaries acceded to her wish, and a pen was accordingly provided for this distinguished purpose. An eagle's quill was selected, which was elegantly mounted in gold and gems. Why this bellicose emblem was chosen, instead of a more pacific goose-quill, does not clearly appear !

The moment the signatures were completed, a telegraphic signal sent to the *Invalides* indicated the happy consummation ; and a hundred and one discharges of artillery proclaimed in tones of thunder, to the astonished and delighted inhabitants of the capital, the welcome tidings and auspicious news of "peace on earth, and good-will to men."

This much-discussed treaty of peace was signed on the anniversary of a great event. On that day, forty-two years before, was fought the battle of Paris, the last act of the great drama of which Europe was the theatre ; and on the following day the Russians entered the French capital, and dictated terms of peace where now their ambassadors came to ask for it.

This *finale* to the war in the East, so flattering to the pride of the French people, was chiefly due to the skilful management of Louis Napoleon. It was through *his* efforts that England had combined with France in supporting the cause of Turkey. He took care to send to the Crimea a powerful and efficient army, to press on the siege of Sevastopol, to drive the young Czar to extremities, to compel him to propose terms of peace, to summon a congress of plenipotentiaries, to appoint his capital as the place of meeting, to superintend and control their deliberations ; and, finally, so to mould them that the chief glory and profit, both of the war

and of the peace, should redound to himself and to his Empire.

It cannot be denied that the chief gainer by this war was the Emperor of the French. Nor was it the least important of his advantages that he had become the ally of England. Previous to that alliance she had been his worst enemy among the nations. The tone of the whole English press in 1852, and previously, in reference to Louis Napoleon, was abusive and derisive in the extreme. There probably never was the same amount of printed ridicule heaped upon any one man, as that which the English press lavished on Louis Napoleon previous to this alliance. They stigmatized him in the vilest language as a despicable *parvenu*, as a worthless debauchee, as a stupid and silly adventurer, as devoid of all talent, and force or dignity of character; and they asserted that his election to the presidency was an eternal and indelible disgrace to the French people. The London Times especially, the great literary monster of the age, exhausted every resource of sarcasm and abuse on the unhappy aspirant to the imperial crown.

It is both amusing in itself, and illustrative of the utter worthlessness of the popular hue and cry, to observe the total change of tone and sentiment which characterized the British press after the alliance with France had taken place, and during the progress and after the conclusion of the war. Between the years 1852 and 1855, by some potent and mysterious process, the character and almost the identity of Louis Napoleon had been totally changed. At the latter period the English press and people lauded him to the skies as a man of prodigious abilities, of great worth and dignity of character, of noble and lofty sentiments, as the saviour and benignant genius of France; and his elevation to the imperial throne was spoken of as the most fortunate and propitious event which had happened to France in many generations. The London Times now became frantic in his praise. It could scarcely find language with which adequately to



express the transcendent merits of the very man upon whose head, three years before, it had exhausted every expression of contempt, hatred and derision. And it need scarcely be said, that to every reflecting and impartial mind, both the extreme of censure and the extreme of adulation were undeserved and unjust. Louis Napoleon is neither on the one hand an idiot or a demon; nor is he on the other a demigod or an angel.

So very popular had the alliance between France and England rendered Louis Napoleon in the latter country, that, in 1855, he and the Empress Eugenie visited the British queen in her own dominions. The display of courtly pageantries and lavish hospitality, of aristocratic adulation and of popular applause, was prodigious and overwhelming. Addresses were made to his Imperial Majesty by the great corporations of the British capital. The style which characterized all these addresses may be inferred from one or two examples. We quote from those offered by the ancient and honorable Corporation of Windsor, and by the Merchants, Bankers, and Brokers of London. The former body emitted the following:

“We are sensible, Sire, that to the wisdom and vigor of your Imperial Majesty’s councils, and to your unceasing endeavors to promote the true interests of the powerful and generous nation which Providence has committed to your care, may be attributed that prosperity and happiness which your country now so freely enjoys; and we venture to augur that, by encouraging a friendly and personal intercourse between your Imperial Majesty and the sovereign of Great Britain, your Majesty adopts the surest means, not only of strengthening a happy and stable alliance between the two countries, but of maintaining the liberties and civilization of Europe.

“May your Imperial Majesty and your illustrious Consort long live to enjoy every domestic and personal blessing, and the loyalty and attachment of an admiring and grateful people.”

The address of the London merchants contained, among other sentiments, the following :

“ We fervently rejoice in the advancing prosperity of France, in the consolidation of order, in the establishment of confidence, so eminently manifested under your Majesty’s reign.

“ We desire that these blessings may continue; that a growing and mutually advantageous commercial intercourse may be maintained between the two countries, — and, above all, that the inhabitants of both may be so connected by the ties of reciprocal esteem and good-will, that their present amicable position may endure for this and succeeding generations, to their common welfare, and the advancement of civilization throughout the world.”

The replies which the Emperor made to all these fond addresses were calculated to flatter the pride of the British people, to increase his popularity with them, and to render the harmony of sentiment between the two nations more complete. The populace following the example set them by the court, expressed their admiration of the imperial visitor in the most extravagant and tumultuous manner. His appearance in the public highways was the signal for the joyous assembling of thousands; and he who had formerly paced the streets of London almost destitute of a shilling, and dependent entirely upon the despotic yet amorous partiality of Mrs. Howard for his daily subsistence, now rode along the same streets as the honored guest of the British monarch, and overwhelmed with the rapturous adoration of that very same crowd, whose disorders and breaches of the peace he had formerly aided in person to suppress, as a London constable !

On the occasion of this visit the English press exceeded in its praises of the illustrious stranger, all its previous achievements. The London Times as usual took the lead. The following extract from its columns is interesting, when contrasted with the furious abuse of him, which several years before had been concocted by the same brain, which had been

printed by the same type, and which had been issued from the same office :

“It was the associations connected with Napoleon the Third—the remembrance of his deeds, and the knowledge of his worth, which pressed along his progress the millions who this week have given to the world an imperishable testimony of their appreciation, their amply founded appreciation, of fortitude in troubles, energy in action, courage amidst dangers, and clemency amid triumphs. *They honored the wisdom and probity which occupied a mighty throne, and honored the thousand princely qualities which had won it: they honored the great man who had retrieved the prosperity and the power of France:* they honored the good sovereign, whose chief care is the welfare of his people; and in the greeting offered to Napoleon, we may truly add, there was love for the nation which he had restored to its legitimate place amongst the powers of the earth at a moment most critical to its destinies, and given back, with the suddenness of enchantment, all its internal prosperity, after convulsions which made the most sanguine despair of its future. Given back! He has opened for it a new career of unprecedented success!”

The Emperor returned to his capital, greatly gratified with the results of his visit to the British queen. But his pleasurable sensations were somewhat diminished by an attempt to assassinate him on the 28th of April, when riding near the Barrier de l'Etoile, shortly after his return. On that occasion the Emperor behaved with his usual calmness of demeanor: and was the first to ride up to the Empress and assure her of his safety. In his address to the Senate in answer to their congratulations upon his escape, the Emperor remarked that there are some lives which could not be destroyed until they had fulfilled the destiny assigned them by Providence; that his mission was not yet finished; and that until it was completed no assassin's blow could injure him. The best “Providence” which, on that occasion as well as several others,

saved his life, was a fine coat of steel mail on which the utmost art of the armorer has been exhausted, which he constantly wore on his person.<sup>1</sup>

A few months afterward, the prolific Queen of England returned the visit which the Emperor of the French had made her. On that memorable occasion, the brilliant capital of France assumed unwonted hues of splendor, and exhibited scenes of festivity and joy, such as probably Europe had never seen before. The "World's Exhibition of Industry" had gathered together there a host of strangers, both opulent, eminent and obscure, from every quarter of the habitable globe. The great centre of modern civilization, luxury, art, science and fashion, exhausted all her infinite resources, to impress, delight and charm the royal visitor. During many ages there had never been such an event as these reciprocal visits between the English and French sovereigns; and the occasion was rendered as memorable as human ingenuity combined with wealth, refinement, and liberality, could make it. It were vain and useless to attempt a description of that gay carnival which marked the presence of the British Queen and her attendants in Paris. The impression which was produced upon the public mind by the events which there took place, may be inferred from the following extract from one of the leading Parisian journals, which appeared at the termination of the queen's visit:

"France and England are at the head of the civilization of the world. They concur equally, although with qualities

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<sup>1</sup> The assassin's name in this instance was Pianori. He approached the Emperor and fired twice. The second ball grazed Napoleon's hat. The assassin was immediately seized, and afterward tried, convicted, and executed. A previous attempt to destroy Louis Napoleon had been made on the 4th of July, 1854, at the *Opera Comique*, by four men who stationed themselves at the door; but their suspicious conduct caused them to be arrested. They were the agents of two secret societies, composed of forty members, who had sworn to establish a republic and proclaim Blanqui dictator.

diverse, in the encouragement of human intelligence in the path of progress. They are by agreement to accomplish together that mission of peace which they have received from Providence, and from which they do not allow themselves to be led astray by the complaints and the irritations of envious and egotistical rivalries. When two nations intermingle and become identified in a perpetual exchange of ideas and things, how can they be otherwise than allies? . . . More than once it has been attempted to disunite the two nations on the most frivolous and ridiculous prettexts. Scarcely two years ago, were we not witnesses to the strangest spectacle? Have we not seen England a prey to illusions somewhat peurile, in a state of alarm about our designs, and arming herself to resist a chimerical invasion from France? What suspicion and defiance! What violence and insult! Confidence is now happily re-established. The alliance which for a moment one might have conceived to be menaced has recovered from that shock, and even those who repelled it with the greatest wrath and indignation proclaim it for evermore unshakable, and necessary for the prosperity, the glory, the honor of the country."

The felicity of Louis Napoleon was now about to receive a further augmentation, and his sudden yet vigorous empire to be strengthened by an additional element of perpetuity and power. On the 14th of March, 1855, a son and heir was born to the Emperor. On this occasion, the *accoucheur* was M. Dubois, the grandson of that M. Dubois who officiated in the same capacity to Maria Louisa some fifty years before, at the birth of the unfortunate King of Rome. He afterward received from the grateful Emperor a present of forty thousand francs; being twice the sum bestowed by the first Emperor on the physician of the Austrian Princess.

The joy exhibited throughout France, on the birth of the imperial prince, was excessive. The birth of the King of Rome had not elicited greater displays of enthusiasm. The name given to the new heir of the empire was Napoleon-

Louis-Eugene-Jean-Joseph-Prince of Algeria, and *Fils de France*. The addresses of congratulation sent to the happy Emperor from all the corporations and cities of France were innumerable. To all of these, he made prudent and polite replies, which were well received. The following extracts will serve as specimens of the whole, and are useful as indicating the prevalent feeling of the nation. The first was in reply to the address of the Senate :

“The Senate has participated in my joy on hearing that Heaven has given me a son, and you have hailed as a happy event the birth of a child of France. I intentionally make use of that expression. In fact the Emperor Napoleon, my uncle, who had applied to the new system created by the revolution all that was great and elevated in the old *regime*, had resumed that ancient denomination of the children of France. The reason is, gentlemen, that when an heir is born who is destined to perpetuate a national system, that child is not only the scion of a family, but also in truth the son of the whole country, and that appellation points out to him his duties. If this were true under the old monarchy, which represented exclusively the privileged classes, how much more so is it now, when the sovereign is the elect of the nation, the first citizen of the country, and the representative of the interests of all? I thank you for the kind wishes which you have expressed for this child of France and for the Empress.”

In reply to the congratulations of the *Corps Legislatif*, the Emperor delivered himself piously as follows :

“I have been much affected at the manifestation of your feelings at the birth of a son whom Providence has given me. You have hailed in him the hope, so eagerly entertained by the nation, of the perpetuity of a system which is regarded as the surest guarantee of the general interests of the country ; but the unanimous acclamations which surround his cradle do not prevent me from reflecting on the destiny of those who have been born in the same place and under similar circumstances. If I feel hopes that his fate may be more fortunate,

it is in the first place because I confide in Providence, because I cannot doubt its protection when seeing it raise up, by a concurrence of extraordinary circumstances, all that it was pleased to level forty years ago, as though it wished to give strength, by martyrdom and misfortune, to a new dynasty, springing from the ranks of the people.”<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> It was on this happy occasion that Louis Napoleon exhibited his clemency by visiting the *Chateau d'Amboise*, where the heroic Prince Abd-el-Kader was confined, by liberating him from his prison, and by providing handsomely for the support of the despoiled ruler of Algeria. Abd-el-Kader gratefully accepted the proffered boon; but all the objects of Imperial generosity were not as appreciative of it. Immediately after the conclusion of the war in the Crimea, Barbes, the former conspirator against the Provisional Government, wrote a letter to a friend, in which he expressed his joy at the triumph of the arms of France. This letter was shown to Louis Napoleon, who immediately ordered his release from prison, where he had been confined ever since his attempt against the government. But Barbes indignantly refused to receive his freedom from the hands of a despotic usurper. He insisted on remaining in prison. He was then expelled from it by main force. Unable to remain under lock and key, he refused to enjoy his liberty or even to live where a despot reigned, and fled to England. This is probably the most singular instance of ludicrous stubbornness on record.

## CHAPTER XIII.

The Relation of Louis Napoleon to Marshal St. Arnaud—The Army of the Allies—St. Arnaud and the *Coup d'Etat*—He takes no part in the Revolution of February—Leading quality of St. Arnaud—His peculiar Afflictions—His Successes—The Slanders which those Successes elicited—The Mental Tortures which they inflicted on him—His only Remedy—St. Arnaud and the Priest—He is appointed Commander of the Army of the East—Suffers under a dreadful and fatal Disease—Proceedings at Varna—Embarkation for the Crimea—Battle of the Alma—Heroism of the Zouaves—Exertions of St. Arnaud—The Victory—He sleeps on the Battle-field—His Farewell to the Army—Resigns the Command to General Canrobert—His Death.

IN order to form a correct idea of the character and career of the Emperor of the French, it will be necessary to survey the qualities, and to sketch the history of those men who were his chief confederates, and his most important opponents. This will enable us to compute the nature of the difficulties which he overcame in his upward pathway to the throne; and the varied intellectual resources which eventually secured him the victory. Besides all this, the biographies of these men are interesting and important in themselves.

Probably the most remarkable confederate of Louis Napoleon, and the one to whose talents and labors he owes the greatest debt of obligation is *Marshal St. Arnaud*.

It was on the 14th of September, 1854, that two hundred and eighty-four ships appeared on the Black Sea. Never before had so vast an armament pressed the bosom of that watery waste. It contained the confederate armies of England and France, sailing directly to the Crimea, for the purpose of subduing the Russian Colossus. Lord Raglan, a



pupil and a type of the iron Wellington, commanded the English forces. St. Arnaud was the chief of the French troops. He was a warrior of a peculiar mould; he was one of those adventurous captains who are frenzied with military ardor; who shine like meteors, and who are often eventually consumed by the intensity of their own heat. His greatness was the product of the last revolution; for his ungovernable activity which would have been, and indeed long had been, suppressed and crushed by the prevalence of peace, had enabled him to rise to the summit of political importance, while less impetuous spirits prudently withdrew from the van of the contest. Marshal St. Arnaud, when the *coup d'état* of December was determined upon by the President of France, stepped forward and demanded the chief post of danger on that memorable day. His offer was accepted; and to his energy and talents the success of the movement was in a great measure attributable.

St. Arnaud fought for twenty years in the deserts of Africa, and the captive Abd-el-Kader was a living trophy of his prowess. In these inferior positions, he often displayed superior talents; and Marshal Bugeaud even then discerned his future celebrity. Although St. Arnaud detested democracy and politics, yet that prejudice was only the result of a soldier's ignorance. He was one of the swords of France, one of her most efficient weapons, and it was only necessary for a crisis in the history of his country to occur, in which the combination of a sword and an intellect was necessary to strike a blow and to direct a movement of decisive importance, to enable him to display his real power and fulfil his legitimate destiny. Such a revolution was *not* that of February. St. Arnaud witnessed its progress and issue without concern. Consumed with disgust and contempt he returned to Algiers from his temporary visit to France; he even looked with pity on his former comrades in arms who plunged eagerly into that commotion, — on Cavaignac, Bedeau, Lamoricière, Changarnier, and Leflô. He could not compre-

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hend why they should take an active part in *such* a revolution; why soldiers and heroes should fight for the supremacy of the rabble; why their swords should be made props for anything but thrones and dynasties; and in one of his letters from Algiers immediately after his return thither, he said: "It is not yet time; the great revolution in France and the last, has not yet come; but it soon will come!" St. Arnaud was a wise prophet as well as a brave soldier. The revolution which was to seal his glory had not yet come; but he entertained unbounded faith in its advent, nor was his confidence disappointed.

The great conflict between the Executive and the Legislature in 1851, presented just such an occasion as the General desired, and he did not hesitate a moment which side to take. It was but reasonable that a soldier should declare himself for the ruling power. Louis Napoleon had formed a very correct idea of the character of St. Arnaud, who at that time commanded the division of Constantine. The latter suddenly learned that he was to be summoned to Paris, and that the porte-folio of the Minister of War was to be placed in his hands. He at once discerned the path of destiny, and determined to accept the offer.

The leading quality of men like St. Arnaud is, never to yield to the pressure of difficulties, and never to despair of success. At first indeed he had the modesty to feel somewhat abashed at the novel duties which devolved upon him. But his genius was adapted to the emergency, and hence the glory and the success with which he executed the details of the *coup d'etat* which the sagacious Louis Napoleon entrusted to him. In reward for his services, the grateful despot heaped honors and rewards upon his head. He was made a Marshal of France. Wealth, influence and power were conferred upon him. He was prosperous and triumphant far beyond his most sanguine expectations.

But all human happiness is imperfect, and every cup of bliss is alloyed with a bitter ingredient. In the midst of his

good fortune, the Marshal was afflicted with many tortures, both physical and intellectual. The imagination of man can scarcely conceive the intensity of that misery which corroded the strong heart of this valiant and heroic soldier. In this respect the intensity of the Marshal's nature became his deadliest curse. Such men as he always pass their whole lives in a fitful fever. They cannot make any allowance for the delicacy and the frailty of that casket—the body—in which the rich jewel of their souls is encased; and hence it is often shattered and broken long before its time.

At each point of his triumphant progress the Marshal was afflicted by the blows of misfortune, and each fresh promotion occasioned a new addition of mental suffering. Immediately after his promotion to the post of Minister of War, he was distressed with the death of his son,—a fair and talented youth in whom his soul's affections centred. The stricken father—the stern hero—exclaims with agony in a letter to a friend: “Poor child! he was so noble, so strong, so brave; and yet I must lose him! I was too proud of him. He made me too happy. God has smitten me.” From that hour forth the name of God was frequently uttered with reverence by the daring and reckless warrior, who had passed so many years in impiety and dissipation.

Six weeks after the death of his son, St. Arnaud, whose domestic affections, like those of Mirabeau and Danton, were very strong, was again afflicted by the decease of his mother. But grief and suffering still threw their black shadows over his path. Let us briefly recount the steps of that Calvary on which at last he died! As soon as the Marshal had attained the highest rank in the military hierarchy, the jealous spite of inferior and less successful men punished him for his success by the propagation of the most abominable calumnies. All the unfortunate incidents of his stormy youth, when the impetuous impulses of his passions had hurried him into many follies and misfortunes, were now exaggerated and narrated. It was said, among many other things, that when

young he had been expelled from his regiment for theft ; that he had accumulated innumerable debts ; that when a vagabond and fugitive in London he had subsisted upon the charity of a prostitute, and had even pawned her clothes for bread ; that he had committed rapes and seductions innumerable ; that his fortunes had become desperate, and his character abandoned, in the extreme, when a lucky accident obtained him an inferior appointment in the army about to proceed to the conquest of Algiers.

The Marshal was informed of these, and many other slanders. There is always in such cases an officious friend whose "excellent intentions" induce him to repeat them to the subject of them. These detractors irritated and mortified him beyond endurance ; for they defaced and deformed all that his long labors had been spent in attaining, — his rank, his fame, and his popularity with the army. St. Arnaud's spirit — always strong, firm, and impetuous in its impulses — chafed like a caged Numidian lion within his bosom, at the consciousness of the existence of these reports. But it was utterly impossible to put a stop to their diffusion. It is possible to say to an editor, you shall not write offensive or hostile articles ; to a journalist, your paper is suppressed ; to a legislative assembly, you shall not discuss any topic which has not been proposed by the ministers. But no human power can silence the tongues of myriads of intelligent, gossiping, and satirical people ; nor prevent gay and talkative women of fashion, while reclining in their luxurious arm-chairs, in the confidence and familiarity of the drawing-room, from uttering gracefully those witty and sarcastic jests which indicate both their talent and their unfriendliness ; which fly swiftly as with the wings of a vulture, and lacerate the reputation as with a vulture's claws. The ancient story of Prometheus was an admirable illustration of the process and the results of calumny. Some wise men can despise all this ; but the Marshal was not one of these fortunate few.

In his confidential intercourse with his brother St. Arnaud

betrayed the secret of his mental tortures. He had erroneously imagined that a man might remain a private individual as to private character, after he had embarked on the stormy and malignant sea of politics. He even believed that three or four powerful factions might be crushed without exciting revengeful emotions. He thought that, in a public career, all the follies of youth, its vices and its excesses, were redeemed and wiped away by the subsequent acquisition of military glory. But he soon discovered his mistake. He found that the great and rich hated him for his success; and that the miserable thousands who, in the garrets and cellars of the capital, were dying of hunger, the crushed Orleanists, the Red Republicans, the Bourbonists, and the Moderate Republicans, — all were ready to secure a crust of bread and to satiate their jealousy and hatred, by the utterance of the most outrageous calumnies against him. Thus the Marshal, in spite of all his glory, was a constant prey to anxiety and secret chagrin. He suffered from what he knew was said against him; and he suffered even still more from the formless and uncertain apprehension of what he only suspected might have been uttered.

There was but one possible relief to all this agony. He needed greater fame; that wish made him sleepless. He formed the last and most desperate resolution of which such a man under such circumstances is capable: — that of confounding all his enemies by the splendor of new military achievements. Physical suffering, the result of early indiscretions, together with anguish of mind, darkened his soul. The mystic angel had drawn around him, and enclosed him within a circle, into which no one but his young and beautiful wife dared to penetrate. To her he communicated his inmost thoughts and emotions; and she approved of the resolution which he had taken, to enter again upon the field of conflict. He did not exclaim like Manfred, to the rocks and abysses: "Forgetfulness and oblivion!" But he cried out with ardor and earnestness: "An army! an army! a battle!" And

thus it was that to St. Arnaud the war in the Crimea was the most fortunate and propitious event in the world. It was the only medicine for the wounded and bleeding heart of this mar so long tossed upon stormy seas, so often shipwrecked, so frequently saved from ruin, so triumphant, and yet so miserable. It was in truth his only hope.

Louis Napoleon was both sagacious and grateful. He saw precisely the position of St. Arnaud, and he resolved that he should have the command which he desired. The Army of the East was placed under his orders.

Before setting out on this last great expedition the Marshal spent a short time in the distant and quiet shades of a small island called Hyeres, in the repose of whose umbrageous retreat he endeavored to calm and soothe his chafing spirit. Here he accidentally met an humble and obscure priest, a man from whose breast all worldly strifes and passions had been expelled; a man who felt the vanity of all earthly things, and who lived alone for contemplation and for virtue. The hero of Algiers formed with this excellent person one of those short and sweet friendships which are so disinterested, which are so rare in their occurrence, which are so soothing to the afflicted spirit, and which resemble so much the ideal and romantic loves of youth

"There's nothing half so sweet in life  
As love's young dream,"

save friendship such as this! The great soldier and the pious priest held many long conversations together as they walked upon the shore, and listened to the sublime and never-ceasing melody of old ocean, or as they sat beneath the refreshing shadows of some leafy bower. As the cool water brooks in a thirsty land revive the fainting soul of the traveller, so the intelligent and religious conversation of the pastor cheered and purified the turbulent and vexed spirit of that famous man of war. From that hour forth till the day of his death, the thoughts of God and of sublimer and better things than



earth, were deeply impressed upon the heart of St. Arnaud. Such results sometimes occur in the singular and multiform developments of human character, amid the vicissitudes of life.

The Marshal returned to Paris. The Army of the East was about to embark. The excitement of preparation and command suspended for a time his mental sufferings. The hope of wiping away every stain from his fame and character by great exploits; the thought of engaging and vanquishing the mighty Muscovite power, upon which achievement he had often meditated in the still and starry nights of his African bivouacs, inspired him with great joy. He felt that his youth was again renewed, that his soul was quickened and invigorated, that the mental and physical strength of manhood had returned. There might yet, on new fields of glory and in fresher wreaths of immortality, be found happiness for St. Arnaud!

In all things St. Arnaud was destined to contradictions and disappointments. Scarcely had he embarked when he was seized with a terrible and consuming malady, and the Generalissimo of the allied armies was stretched on a thorny couch, like a chained captive, at an hour when vigilance, strength, and activity, should have been his pre-eminent characteristics. This terrible disease—the ossification of the heart—affected every part of his system. Repose was for days a stranger to him. The pernicious fevers of the Asiatic frontier of Europe were added to this disease; and these, combined with the remains of former attacks resulting from other causes, produced physical sufferings so excruciating that sometimes the strong intellect of St. Arnaud was overwhelmed by them, and he raved with the paroxysms of madness. At length he ceased to believe in the impotent power of medicine, and he looked for his only cure in the cannon's mouth.

When the army arrived at Varna other disappointments befell the Marshal. The necessary stores did not arrive in time. Strange and miserable imbecility characterized the proceedings of the English cabinet, and the English commanders. The cholera began to rage among his troops, water

Busquet resisted, on this occasion, the proposed execution of that very rotatory movement, in which he afterwards won so much glory; and it was astonishing to observe how much self-command and clearness of mind St. Arnaud displayed in that vexatious council of war, the last in which he ever took part.

The battle was fought with great bravery, especially by the French. The heroic Zouaves climbed, in the face of a sweeping fire, abrupt and dizzy heights, where the chamois could scarcely find footing. After the chief brunt of the battle had been sustained by the French, the English came slowly up to the attack. The conflict lasted for many hours, but toward night the Russians were completely routed, and were dislodged from every position. Had he possessed the command of sufficient cavalry St. Arnaud would have pursued the vanquished to the gates of Sevastopol, and the war might have been ended with one blow. But in this purpose his ardent spirit, consuming itself with its last expiring fury, was overruled. Lord Raglan again interfered.

St. Arnaud encamped that night in the midst of the dying and the dead, on the field of glory which his own valor had won. Extended on the ground, on some hay, and covered with a military cloak, he passed a night of agony and exhaustion. Such immense ravages had disease made on his person that he was scarcely recognizable. The army remained three days without advancing, in opposition to his wishes. At length when the camp was pitched near "Makenzie's farm" he was attacked with cholera, and his condition became deplorable in the extreme. He found his strength utterly failing, and he was compelled to resign his command to some successor. Surrounded by his friends and staff he prepared to transmit an order to the oldest general of division in the army, conferring on him the authority of commander-in-chief, when an officer, who had been slightly wounded at Alma six days before, approached him and handed him a sealed letter. This letter the officer had carried from the beginning of the

campaign. In it the Emperor of the French gave to him the command of the French army, in case of the death or resignation of St. Arnaud. That officer was General Canrobert. The veteran warrior at once obeyed the imperial will. He next bade adieu to the army. He rode through the ranks in an open carriage, wrapped in his pelisse, with a Turkish cap on his head, reclining on cushions, faint, emaciated, and dying. The soldiers left their ranks, crowded around the carriage, and wept. He extended his hand to them; and as many of the impetuous Zouaves as could touch it, kissed it. After this Lord Raglan, General Canrobert, and General Busquet, visited him in his tent, and bade him farewell. He was thence removed to one of the vessels riding at anchor in the bay. There he immediately received the last sacraments of religion from a Catholic priest; and he rapidly sank from day to day, until at last his eyes were closed in death, "as calmly as flowers at set of sun," on the 29th day of September, 1854.

Such was the life and such the death of Marshal St. Arnaud; a man of great talents, and of strong and un governable passions; whose youth was spent in turbulent vice; whose riper years were devoted to the attainment of military glory; who rose at last to the first rank in his profession; who was the most efficient support and instrument of Louis Napoleon in attaining supreme power; and whose whole life and most brilliant achievements were all tarnished and embittered by those early excesses, whose stigma and whose curse followed him implacably to the grave! He was the *military Mirabeau of the Nineteenth Century.*

## CHAPTER XIV.

General Canrobert—His peculiar Genius—His remarkable Activity and Vigilance—His personal Appearance—His Birth and Youth—His Exploits in Algiers—His conduct in the Crimea—He succeeds St. Arnaud to the Chief Command—Lord Radcliffe—Difficulties of Canrobert's position—He resigns the Chief Command—Is the victim of Diplomacy—His Mission to Sweden—A Greek Myth—The future of Canrobert and Pelissier.

GENERAL CANROBERT, who succeeded St. Arnaud in the command of the French army in the Crimea, was a man not unworthy of the high post to which the discernment and the partiality of Louis Napoleon advanced him. His nature was essentially sympathetic and generous; his intellect exceedingly prompt, energetic, and penetrating. He differed from his predecessor in one great feature, that he never wished merely to play a part, or to seem a hero; but he aimed at *being* what honor and duty impelled him to seem. He was very affable and accessible to the soldiers; and possessed a happy originality of manner in his addresses to them, which riveted their attention, and won their applause. Thus on one occasion addressing the calvary, he said to them: "You are living balls, which I throw when and where I please." Hence he soon became the favorite of the army. After their return from the Crimea, Canrobert, who had preceded them, was ordered by the Emperor to repair to Lyons, and meet them there. As soon as the Crimean veterans beheld him they shouted with joy: "There he is; there is our father!"

This title Canrobert had deserved by his conduct at Sevastopol. During the winter which preceded the fall of that great fortress, he had displayed the utmost solicitude for the comfort of his men. He endeavored assiduously to pave the way to future victory by sustaining the moral courage of

troops already exhausted by famine, exposure and pestilence. He was constantly on duty. He was always serving at the trenches. He proved by his bold and daring deportment that he entertained more solicitude for the lives of others, than he did for his own. He was the Lannes of the French army in the Crimea.

In person Marshal Canrobert resembles a village beadle. His figure is not large, and the peculiar feature of his face is a small, round, up-turned nose. No one would ever imagine from his appearance that he was one of the most able and brilliant military men in Europe. His bravery was almost fabulous, and he seemed to pass through a shower of balls and bullets as an actor does through the sham fights of the theatre. His whole history proves that he has always been a favorite of fortune. Every dynasty in France has had its eminent military leaders. Thus under Louis Philippe, Marshal Bugeaud was the popular hero. Under the Republic there were Lamoricière, Changarnier, and Cavaignac; and under Louis Napoleon, Busquet and Canrobert have inherited the glory and the power of their predecessors.

Marshal Canrobert was born in 1810. In 1828 he left St. Cyr as a sub-lieutenant; two years afterward he obtained a slight promotion, and was then sent to Algiers. That country is the classic land which for twenty years has been the nursery of French generals and heroes. It is an excellent field for the development of physical strength, and for the exhibition of multiform bravery; but it has been asserted that that war of thickets, and those skirmishes with an enemy who were as quiet as a reptile, was not a scene propitious for the development of military genius. Nevertheless, such as the war was, Canrobert distinguished himself by his skill and daring on many occasions. At the storming of Hemsén he received the brevet of Captain. In 1850 he had risen to the rank of General of brigade. In 1853 he was made General of division. In that year Louis Napoleon appointed Canrobert his *aid-de-camp*. He had formed a very high estimate of the bravery,

the capacity and the fidelity of the General; and moreover esteemed him as a *fortunate* man. Such men the Emperor has always attached to himself, having faith in their star. He avoids unfortunate men, however talented and meritorious they may be, although he himself for many years was constantly and pre-eminently the victim of misfortune.

The chief exploit of Canrobert in Africa was his celebrated retreat from Bensaada. In that achievement he was surrounded and blockaded by an overwhelming force. The plague also infested his ranks, yet he succeeded in escaping safely by the employment of a skilful stratagem, and released his weak detachment from their perilous position without any serious loss.

When General Canrobert arrived at the Crimea, he was heralded by quite a distinguished reputation. Called, very soon after the opening of these tremendous conflicts, to assume the chief command, his conduct exhibited from the first the utmost energy, capacity, and forethought. His arrangement of the campaign was adroit and skilful, and his personal conduct everywhere was intrepid in the extreme. He was wounded both at Inkermann and at the Alma. During the long and desperate siege of Sevastopol, his soldiers, exposed to the rigors of winter, to the ravages of disease, and to the constant fire of the Russians from their batteries, would have perished by thousands and myriads, had not his solicitude for their welfare, and his admirable prudence and energy interposed. His vigilance was remarkable. At the first sound of the guns of the Russians, whether in day-time or the night, he mounted his horse; he dispatched his *aids-de-camp* everywhere; he visited in person the scene of danger; he superintended every movement; and he remained with his troops until the conflict was ended. His return to his tent, after such scenes, drew forth the enthusiasm of his soldiers, and huzzas in his honor often resounded from one end of the French lines to the other.

During the progress of the siege Lord Radcliffe was sent

by the British government to visit Sevastopol, and examine the camp of the Allies. In the execution of his researches he stopped at the tent of Canrobert. Scarcely had they commenced to converse when the sudden thunder of the distant cannon of the Russians resounded over the plain. Several *aids-de-camp* immediately entered for orders. Canrobert rose from his seat, told Lord Radcliffe that the enemy had commenced a sortie, and that he must mount his horse and visit the scene of conflict. The English ambassador expressed a desire to accompany the French commander. The latter instantly acquiesced, and the horses were ordered. They rode together to the battle-field, and continued their conversation almost under the Russian batteries; but Lord Radcliffe could not discover any of the troops of the Allies, though he saw plainly that the artillery swept the trenches, that clouds of dust and smoke were rising from the ravines, and he heard loud echoes reverberating from the rocks. "It is not possible," said Lord Radcliffe, "that our soldiers are fighting in those hollows." Canrobert replied: "These ravines, my lord, are our battle-fields; and it is proper that I should particularly call the attention of a visitor like yourself to the singular and unfortunate position in which our diplomatists have placed these brave soldiers. They fight under the most desperate disadvantages ever known in the history of warfare." Lord Radcliffe could not but admit the truth of the assertion.

When General Canrobert was entrusted with the supreme command, he found not only those perplexing questions of diplomacy which had so much embarrassed St. Arnaud, entangling and confining himself; but he met with other annoyances to which his predecessor had been a stranger. His former companions were now his subordinates; and his sudden elevation above them wounded their self-love. The rigorous mechanism and discipline of the military hierarchy does not permit the least resistance to be made to these changes and promotions. The chief difficulty of this description Can-

robert encountered with the haughty veteran of Waterloo who commanded the British forces. Lord Raglan felt and exhibited great repugnance to act as an equal in authority with a young general, so recently his inferior. The consequence was that for a time, the unity of strength was broken, and great delays ensued. The same disadvantages resulted which, as Homer relates, followed the quarrels of the Greek princes around the walls and fortresses of the ancient city of Priam. The magnanimity of General Canrobert made every effort to overcome and dissipate this feeling on the part of Lord Raglan. He was convinced indeed, as was Omer Pacha, that by stopping at Sevastopol the Allies were only singeing the hair of the Russian bear; but the diplomatists had contrived and decreed that it should be so, and he was compelled to submit. The difficulties between the two allied commanders increased, until at length co-operation became impossible. Canrobert then offered to resign to the intractable Raglan the entire direction of the operations. The proposal was accepted; but Lord Raglan immediately determined on such measures as rendered a rupture between the two armies and their generals inevitable. Canrobert, rather than increase the difficulty, resigned the chief command entirely, requesting the Emperor to appoint Marshal Pelissier in his place. His request was complied with; although Louis Napoleon would have preferred General Busquet as incumbent of that post.

General Canrobert, when again placed at the head of his division, conducted himself with the same ability and energy which had always characterized him. He had been made the victim of the politic maxim of the Austrian cabinet, who professed to contract and localize the war, and who entertained the selfish and ambitious design of acting as the mediatrix between the contending nations of a continent. Canrobert was defeated by the intrigues of Lord John Russel and Druin de L'Huys, and made a sacrifice to the alliance between England and France.

But as is his invariable custom, the Emperor Napoleon was



faithful to his devoted servant, and two months after his resignation of the chief command he bestowed upon him the *baton* of a marshal; thus raising him to the highest rank in the military hierarchy.

After his return from the Crimea, Marshal Canrobert was dispatched upon a diplomatic mission to Sweden, for the purpose of obtaining the hand of the fair Princess Vasa in marriage for the Emperor of the French. It is a circumstance illustrative of the tangled involutions of the web of European politics, and especially of that Gordian knot known as the Eastern Question, that the influence and intrigues of Russia at the Court of Stockholm, prevented the Marshal from conducting the blooming Swedish princess to the nuptial bed now occupied by the beautiful Countess de Teba. What consequences might have ensued to the future destinies of France and Europe had the Swedish match been consummated, it would be very difficult to predict. The Empress Eugenie had most excellent reasons for receiving the visit of the Russian Grand Duke Constantine at the Court of the Tuilleries in 1857, with the utmost cordiality and the most magnificent hospitality.

General Pelissier was the most fortunate of all the Generals who combatted in the Crimean war. He succeeded in reducing Sevastopol, and in eventually accomplishing the purpose of the Allies. Lord Raglan fell a victim to the cholera; and like St. Arnaud, he never saw the conclusion of the conflict. If the myth of the ancient Greeks were true, that in the future existence there are eternal groves beneath whose fragrant shades the illustrious dead are permitted to wander, what sad and affecting confidences would pass between the souls of Lord Raglan and St. Arnaud, in those peaceful Elysian realms, respecting the stormy and anxious scenes in the midst of which they both took their departure from the world!

Since the conclusion of the war in the Crimea, Marshals Canrobert and Pelissier have both enjoyed the favor of the

Emperor of the French; and they now repose upon their hardly-earned laurels, in the midst of scenes of courtly magnificence; their names are inseparably identified with great historical events; and their fortunes and reputations are placed upon a secure and brilliant elevation. It is scarcely probable that they will ever be called upon to enter the field of battle again, or to lead the French armies to conquest and glory in future years. Yet should such an emergency occur, it may reasonably be inferred that the names of Pelissier, Canrobert, and Busquet, will re-appear in connection with exploits which will invest them with brighter lustre, and add renewed freshness to those laurels which the progress of time may have faded and withered.

## CHAPTER XV.

The great rival of Louis Napoleon — Marshal Bugeaud's estimate of Cavaignac — A better Estimate of him — His conduct as Dictator of France—Cavaignac's Birth and Early History—He makes the Campaign of the Morea—Policy of Louis Philippe—Cavaignac is sent to Algiers—His Bravery and Ability there—The Revolution of 1848 in France—The Provisional Government appoint him Governor-General of Algiers—He declines the office of Minister of War—Resentment of the Provisional Government—He accepts the post of Minister of War from the Republic—The Downfall of the Executive Commission — Cavaignac appointed Dictator of France — His Cabinet — Results of his Measures — Louis Napoleon elected President — Subsequent Insignificance of Cavaignac — He is arrested at the *Coup d'Etat*—Conduct of Mademoiselle Odier—Correspondence between Cavaignac and De Morny — Cavaignac's release from Prison—His Marriage to Mdle. Odier — His subsequent Obscurity — His Death.

THERE was a man in France possessing remarkable qualities and great eminence, both as a soldier and as a statesman; who was the chief rival of Louis Napoleon in his ambitious pathway; who on several critical occasions stood between him and the possession of supreme power; and who was the rallying point and the hope of a large and influential party in France, who patiently await the hour which will bring about the downfall of the second empire. That man was Eugene Cavaignac.

Marshal Bugeaud said of him, about the period of the *sortie* of Tlemesen in Algiers, that he was an ardent, well-trained officer, capable of intense devotion, possessed of superior talents, adapted to great things; and that, if he lived, he would one day achieve distinction. This judgment of the Marshal respecting Cavaignac needed only one restriction to make it perfectly correct. He should have added: provided

Cavaignac remained in the military profession, and did not venture into politics. For to govern a great and fickle people like the French, other qualities are requisite beside zeal, talent, ardor, knowledge, and decision; for these were all the mental gifts which Cavaignac possessed. Reaching the Dictatorship by means of a vast expenditure of blood, he perceived, when it was too late, that a man may be a bad statesman, though an excellent general of division. At least, he never understood the cause of his own inefficiency; and wasted in a barren and unprofitable struggle, which procured him no accession of glory, all the enthusiasm of the National Guards and all the resources of the Treasury. The laurel wreath which surrounded his brow as Dictator, was stained with the blood of a civil war.

There can be no doubt but that General Cavaignac would, at one time, have sacrificed unhesitatingly all his dreams of ambition for the good of the Republic. Not that he was a Republican more than anything else; for he was destitute of a fixed political faith; he was irresolute, vacillating, and better acquainted with Algiers than he was with France; he had no historical acquaintance with the past, and no talent for government; he simply felt a desire to possess the supreme power, and, aided by a variety of accidental circumstances, it was placed in his hands. But the moment he saw the sceptre in his grasp he felt incompetent to wield it, and was utterly ignorant how he should exercise his authority. He concluded to act violently in a country which needed conciliation above all things else, and to apply the laws and regulations of the barracks to a Legislative Assembly composed of talented, excited, and desperate adventurers. He acted while Dictator as if he believed that good order could not be maintained in France except by a system of rigor which debased human nature, and degraded the genius of a nation. Thus, whenever a man undertakes a task for which he is incompetent, he plunges into an abyss, and he drags with him into its fatal

depths, the nation, the party, or the family, who had been unfortunate enough to select him as their leader.

Eugene Cavaignac, to whom alone of all Frenchmen belonged the honor of having possessed a Dictatorship in France, not only in reality but also in name—was born at Paris, in October, 1802. He was the younger brother of Godfrey Cavaignac—a name whose memory will always be cherished by French Republicans. There are some persons who, from their birth, are consecrated to some particular profession, such as the church or the camp. By all his family associations Eugene Cavaignac was devoted from his youth to Democracy. This was his misfortune, for nature in no respect had designed him for political life. As an advocate or as an editor he might have attained some little distinction. As a statesman he could never have become really illustrious.

In his youth, in 1820, he was admitted to the Polytechnic School of Paris. He was not distinguished by superior talents or attainments while a student. He remained in that institution during two years. He left it as a sub-lieutenant to enter the Military School of Metz. Here he remained three years. In 1826 he attained the rank of Lieutenant. In 1828 he made the campaign of the Morea. France, now so firmly allied to Turkey was, at that time, and in that conflict, the friend of Greece. Russia had not yet unmasked her real purposes. The Greeks were fighting for freedom, for a glorious country; and a patriotic young officer like Cavaignac could not look upon such a struggle without interest. After the conclusion of the conflict in Greece he returned to France; and when the revolution of 1830 broke forth, Cavaignac hoped, along with thousands of others, that the era of a true Republic in France had at last arrived. They soon discovered their error, and found that the elevation of the "money-bagging," Louis Philippe, was the signal for the advancement of the interests of the middle classes, or the *Bourgeoisie*. The French monarch was only the head and chief of the two hundred and twenty-two thousand "copy-holders of the

electoral system," which was destroyed in 1848. Louis Philippe patronized the middle classes, and endeavored to promote their interests at the expense of the nation, because he hated the high aristocracy, inasmuch as many of them were impoverished, and because they regarded the Orleans dynasty as an illegitimate upstart; and he hated the masses because they were poor and vulgar, because he feared them, and because he could not extort much money from them. He was enough of an aristocrat himself to despise those who were ignobly born; and he was also conscious that the rabble, the working classes, as he termed them, would more strictly hold him to an account for the way in which he redeemed the solemn pledges with which he ascended the throne of the barricades.

It was the adroit policy of Louis Philippe to send such military Republicans as Cavaignac to Algiers. They could there find an outlet for their ardor which did not endanger the stability of his throne. In Algiers Cavaignac passed the most creditable period of his life. There he exhibited great talents. On the battle-field he displayed extraordinary intelligence, fortitude, and activity. He frequently astonished military veterans like Marshal Bugeaud by the rare combination of his soldier-like qualities. He was left by Marshal Clausel with a handful of soldiers in Tlemcen. This Arabian town was situated in the desert like an island in the midst of the ocean. Hosts of hostile Arabs hovered around it. Cut off from all communication with the French army, with no hope of an accession of men or of ammunition, the little garrison was compelled, at one and the same time, to repel the attacks of the enemy without, and to curb the movements of a hostile population within. During eighteen months this state of things continued, and, notwithstanding the extraordinary difficulties of his position, Cavaignac succeeded in keeping the town, in conciliating the inhabitants, in building hospitals and barracks. In the final triumph of the French arms, which eventually made Algiers an unresisting province and appendage of France, General Cavaignac bore a dis-

tinguished part. He was the commander of the corps of the Zouaves — soldiers whose peculiar merits were not then so universally known, but which the memorable scenes of the Crimea have fully and amply illustrated. In April, 1840, he was engaged in the battle of Chershell, which lasted during the immense period of twelve days, and then he received a severe and dangerous wound in the thigh. In August, 1841, he was promoted to the rank of Colonel. In September, 1844, he received his commission as General of Brigade. The adventurous soldier was destined to attain the loftiest summit of the military hierarchy.

When the heroic Abd-el-Kader, as a last resort to save his falling country, proclaimed a "holy war" against the French, Cavaignac may be said to have begun a battle which continued till March, 1846. The expedition to the Atlas, a hundred leagues from Tlemsen, was followed by the final submission of the Arabs, and by the capture of their celebrated chief. Cavaignac was appointed in the place of General Lamoricière as Governor of the Province of Oran. In this office he vigorously prosecuted the plans of military colonization which Marshal Bugeaud had begun at Orleansville.

The revolution of 1848 suddenly changed Cavaignac's whole career. He was then forty-six years of age. He had served his country with honor and success. But he longed for influence and power at the centre and seat of both. The day after the downfall of the throne of Louis Philippe, he started for Paris in company with Changarnier and Lamoricière. He exclaimed, when he first heard of the king's flight: "In six months France will be ruled by Henry V." Fifteen years before, Cavaignac would have enthusiastically saluted the young republic, which he had so many causes to admire and defend.

In proportion as Cavaignac ascended in the military hierarchy, his attachment to Democracy became more and more feeble; until at last he maintained the slightest show of regard for it only through a third party. Madame Cavaignac,

the mother of the General, was the chain which bound him to his unwilling allegiance to the Republic. Yet the Provisional Government of 1848 bestowed on him the grade of General of Division, and promoted him to the important and distinguished post of Governor-General of Algeria. Changarnier did not willingly resign his office to the successor appointed by the Provisional Government. He rudely dispensed with the forms which common courtesy and ordinary usage required, as being due to a new governor. He even insulted Cavaignac by ascribing his promotion to the chief authority in Algiers, in a proclamation which he issued on his retirement, solely to the regard entertained for the memory of his brother. Cavaignac was too politic to resent these galling indignities.

No sooner was he elevated to the administration of Algiers, than he began to exhibit his total incapacity for the science of government. His first act was to remove from its pedestal the statue of the deceased Duke of Orleans, whose amiable disposition and whose unfortunate death had left in France a sad and sympathetic remembrance. The inhabitants of the town of Algiers were indignant at this outrage on the cherished memory of the dead; and Cavaignac was compelled or constrained to restore the statue to its former place. This conduct indicated the most pitiable irresolution; but it was soon followed by another act still more absurd and pusillanimous. He was induced to assist at the solemn elevation of a red Jacobin bonnet on the summit of a tree of Liberty. This republican emblem produced on the Orleanist population of Algeria the same effect which a scarecrow would cause upon a company of children. Overcome by the public derision, Cavaignac ordered the symbol of the Republic to be removed. This additional act of indecision had its influence upon the public mind in Algeria; and considerably diminished the respect which the military achievements of the Governor-General had formerly obtained for him.

On the 20th of March the Provisional Government at Paris



nominated General Cavaignac to the post of Minister of War. But he declined the proffered honor. Had he been a sincere republican he would not have hesitated to accept it. But he had no confidence in the stability of the Provisional Government; and he feared that, if he resigned his post in Algeria, when the republic fell, he would fall with it, and would be overwhelmed in its total ruin. The certain and secure possession of the government of Algeria was a more desirable position, than the insecure and probably transient honors which clustered around the office of Minister of War for France. The Provisional Government were highly offended at this refusal of the General. The public at once drew the inference that the government of February was tottering on its basis, else Cavaignac would have accepted the appointment. The Provisional Government expressed their indignation at his conduct in a bitter and sarcastic letter. After the Republic was proclaimed, however, he accepted on the 17th of May the same office which he had previously declined on the 20th of March. The reason was that the Republic seemed to him to be a more permanent and responsible institution; or at least it appeared to be one, a connection with which would promote his future advancement to power.

He was then also appointed commander-in-chief of the troops charged with the protection of the National Assembly. Confusion began to reign in France, that same confusion which terminated at last by the memorable *coup d'état* of the 2d of December. An Executive Commission had been selected to administer the government, consisting of Lamartine, Arago, Ledru Rollin, Marrast, and Garnier Pagés. This Commission was still too republican in their sentiments to please the temper of the National Assembly. Despised by the Assembly and hated by the people, the only safety of the Commission would have been in their unity; but an insane personal ambition overcame every other consideration, and divided their forces. Their downfall was inevitable. General Cavaignac at that moment represented in his own person

the opposing power in the State. Affairs were approaching a decisive crisis, and soon one or the other of these rivals—the Commission or Cavaignac, the civil or the military Dictatorship must triumph, and absorb all power to itself.

The destruction of the “National Workshops” was the signal for the commencement of the struggle. At this period the prospects of Louis Napoleon for the attainment of supreme power had not yet become flattering or even obtrusive. His countless agents were then at work secretly throughout the provinces, preparing the way for his future success. At length, the workmen who have been deprived of their subsistence by the destruction of the public workshops, crowded the streets of Paris, and the air resounded with countless yells of “work or bread.” The people were utterly dissatisfied with the Assembly and with the Executive Commission. A proposition was then made to Cavaignac, the military chief of France, by a committee of three, at the head of whom was Ducruy, whether he would accept the Dictatorship, on condition that the Executive Commission should retire. The critical moment had at last arrived, and propitious fortune by a strange caprice offered to place the supreme power in the hands of the soldier of Algiers. Cavaignac accepted the Dictatorship. But the Executive Commission were not willing to be thus bought and sold, and shorn thus summarily of their power, by the leaders of popular factions. At two o'clock in the morning, Barthelemy de St. Hilaire, in the name of the Commission, sent the captain of the National Guard to carry an order to General Cavaignac. The order was not executed. The Commission during the day demanded of the General the reason. Cavaignac, disposed to equivocate, threw the blame on General Fouché, a person who then labored under a species of disgrace.—Fouché earnestly defended himself. Various discussions passed between the Commission, Cavaignac and the Assembly, which need not be narrated. The result of all these agitations was, that at length Pascal Duprat, who was the leader of the Cavaignac

faction in the Assembly, ascended the tribune, and demanded in loud and violent terms that the Assembly pass a decree to the effect that Paris is in a state of siege, and that a dictatorial power be concentrated in the sole hands of General Cavaignac. Lagrange and other deputies protested against such a sacrifice of the liberties of the nation. When the vote was taken on the decree, sixty votes were given against it. A vast majority of several hundred bewildered, terrified or corrupted representatives, decided in favor of it. At half-past ten at night Cavaignac became Dictator of France, and the Executive Commission existed no more.

The new Dictator immediately commenced the work of subduing the revolt and the insurrection which then raged in the streets of Paris, as well as of crushing every other element of resistance. In less than twenty-four hours the Dictator suppressed eleven newspapers. Two journals alone applauded the policy and the severity of Cavaignac. These were the "Constitutional" and "The Country;" but these were governed by speculators, and not by publicists; by Delamaire the banker, and by Veron the operator. Cavaignac gained over the National Guards by a specious proclamation, in which he spoke of a Republic which had no existence except in his own imagination. The revolted *canaille* of Paris were deluded and pacified by a similar process, although at one period during the progress of the conflict for the supreme power they not unjustly bestowed the title of "Butcher" on the bold aspirant for supremacy.

His subsequent acts during his brief administration were singular enough, and confirmed the statement which has already been made in this work, that Cavaignac, though a brave soldier, did not possess a particle of statesmanship. He selected his cabinet from among the Orleanists, including such men as Dufrane and Vivien, yet he attempted to flatter and conciliate every party. But he succeeded in offending all; and when the period arrived for the election of a President of the new Republic, out of seven millions of votes he did not obtain more than a million and a half. The Dictator fell

to rise no more; and on his ruins the power and glory of Louis Napoleon gradually ascended, until they reached their present magnificent proportions.

General Cavaignac then sank into that obscurity which he deserved. Two eventful years rolled away, during which Louis Napoleon ably swayed the sceptre of France as her President. At length the memorable 2d of December, 1851, dawned, and with its earliest light the sudden and mysterious terrors of the *coup d'état* burst upon the astonished capital. Then came the arrest of General Cavaignac as already described — and afterward his imprisonment at Ham. This was a three-fold misfortune to the fallen Dictator; for it destroyed at the same moment his military reputation, his political consequence, and those tender domestic hopes on which his future happiness depended. During the period of his supremacy, the fame of the general had fascinated and won the heart of a beautiful young lady, Mademoiselle Odier. She was the daughter of James Odier, a distinguished banker, and she forgot the age of the general in her admiration of his celebrity. When he was arrested he wrote a note to the young lady informing her of his situation, and releasing her from the obligations of the marriage vow which was to have been assumed in a day or two after the occurrence of the *coup d'état*.

She answered immediately that she only saw in his misfortune another and stronger reason why she should fulfil her engagement. The first care of James Odier was to demand for his wife and daughter permission to visit the general in his prison. The Count de Morny, minister of the President, acted the part of a trifler in this affair, and at length granted the desired permission in such a manner as almost to render it an insult. He allowed the commandant of the fortress to permit an hour's interview in the presence of a guard. Mr Odier thanked De Morny by letter for even this courtesy, and requested that the general might be permitted to write to his *fiancée*, and speak to her without the presence of a witness.

A singular correspondence between De Morny, M. Odier,

and Cavaignac then ensued. De Morny wrote to M. Odier to the effect that Louis Napoleon did not confound General Cavaignac with the desperate conspirators who meditated the overthrow of his power ; and that it would grieve the President to see the joy of the marriage damped by the chilly walls of a prison. The letter enclosed an order to the commandant of the fortress to release the captive general. This circumstance called forth a reply from General Cavaignac, in which he declared to De Morny that he was entitled to his liberty without any act of grace from the President, and he should accept it as a right, and not as a gift. He added, that by using the order for his discharge, and by accepting his release, he expressly refrained from acknowledging the legitimacy of the power which had, for a short period, deprived him of his freedom. De Morny responded in an artful epistle, in which he said that he should abstain from making any response to the positions assumed by the general in his previous letter, and merely confined himself to congratulating the general upon the felicity of his approaching nuptials.

General Cavaignac was united in marriage to Mdlle. Odier on the 1st of January, 1852. Then terminated the political and military importance of the former Dictator of France. He never afterward emerged from the tranquil obscurity in which the overwhelming success of Louis Napoleon enveloped him. He expired suddenly, on the 29th of October, 1857, while engaged in the diversion of shooting on one of the country estates of his wife. His corpse was conveyed to Paris, where the funeral obsequies took place. He was buried with the usual military honors, and most of the illustrious and the great who resided or were present in the capital, honored the last solemn journey of the hero of Algiers to the grave with their presence and their sympathy. The Court and the Emperor were represented ; but only to such an extent as to imply that they tolerated, though they scarcely approved, the demonstration which was made in favor of the defunct Dictator.

## CHAPTER XVI.

Louis Napoleon's reputation for Gallantry—Was always regarded in England as a bad matrimonial match—He is rejected by Miss Belleu—He afterward rejects Her—The Princess Mathilde—Louis Napoleon's intrigue with Mademoiselle Lautre—His connection with the Countess de Castiglione—Despair of the Empress—The Opera of *Joconde*—The Count de Morny—The Prince Walewski—Influence of Louis Napoleon's reign on French Society—The contrast between its Influence and that of Charles X. and Louis Philippe.

THE unenviable reputation for excessive gallantry which Louis Napoleon has acquired, may have had its origin to some extent in the well-known character of his mother, Queen Hortense. This lady is said to have spent her whole life in a series of *liaisons*; but especially during her residence in the Castle of Arenemberg. It is asserted that her conduct allured around her many of the noblemen most distinguished for gallantry at that time in France. In the small Court of Arenemberg, Louis Napoleon, in spite of his great professions of regard and esteem for his mother, must have seen ample evidence of the laxity of her morals, and the unscrupulous violence of her passions.

During his boyhood Louis Napoleon gave no evidence of the existence of those strong propensities within him, which have characterized his riper years. He was then remarkable for the gentleness of his disposition, and for the timidity and sweetness of his temper. His fair flowing curls and soft blue eyes seemed more characteristic of girlhood; so that even the ladies of the imperial court, his mother, and the Empress Josephine, used to term him *la Princesse Louis*, instead of *le Prince Louis*. His most general appellation when a boy, was *le Prince oui-oui*, from the gentle obedience and sub-

mission with which he uniformly complied with the wishes of others.

During the first residence of Louis Napoleon in England, several incidents occurred in reference to the gentler sex, which deserve to be narrated, as indicative of the vicissitudes which attend the progress of human life. Although the Prince was received by the highest English aristocracy as the representative and heir of the great Napoleon, he was regarded as a very bad match; and not one of the distinguished noblemen who entertained him,—the Duke of Buccleugh, the Duke of Hamilton, or the Duke of Devonshire,—would have given him their daughter in marriage. No one at that time entertained the remotest suspicion that the imperial diadem would ever encircle that pale and diminutive brow. There are doubtless at this very moment many of the fairest and proudest peeresses of England, who secretly sigh to think that there *was* a time, when they might easily have courted and won the hand which could now conduct them to the splendid elevation of a throne!

Though the British aristocracy repelled the matrimonial advances of Louis Napoleon, and he possessed too much good sense to press or obtrude them, there was one lady—not however the daughter of a nobleman—who, at the time of the Prince's residence in England, was young, beautiful, and had just fallen heir to an estate of five thousand pounds a year. This lady was Miss Belleu. Immediately after the receipt of her fortune she repaired to London from Devonshire, entered its gay society, and was soon surrounded by a host of admirers. Many younger sons of dukes and earls sued for the possession of her hand and fortune; and among her other admirers was Prince Louis. He was greatly smitten with her buxom beauty, and one evening, after dancing with her in various waltzes and polkas, which were just then becoming fashionable, he offered her his heart and hand. Miss Belleu at once refused the future Emperor. Yet when, in the year 1848, the star of Louis Napoleon began to glimmer in

the political horizon, and he had been chosen representative, and afterward President, Miss Belleu, still unmarried, and still fascinating and beautiful, hastened to Paris, and showed herself obtrusively at the receptions of the *Elysée* Palace. But at that time the Prince Napoleon winked prodigiously hard, and would not see or remember the former object of his idolatry.

At the Chateau of Ham there are said to be two children who possess the right to call the Emperor of the French their father. Their mother was the daughter of the keeper of the prison; and ample provision has been made for them by their august progenitor. The same liberality has marked the conduct of the Emperor to Mrs. Howard, whose partiality and assistance were so opportune during the dreary years of his exile. This lady received from her former lover an ample fortune, as an acquittance in full of all obligations, at the time of the imperial marriage. She has since become the wife of a young Englishman, with whom she lives in ease and luxury on the fruits of the imperial generosity.

While Louis Napoleon was still unmarried, he installed his cousin, the Princess Mathilde, as the mistress of the presidential and imperial palace, deputing to her the task of doing its honors. This lady is the daughter of ex-King ~~Joseph Bonaparte~~, who once resided at Bordentown as the Count de Survilliers. She was educated in Florence, and there married at an early age the Prince Demidoff. This marriage was an unhappy one, and it ended at last in an amicable separation. The Princess is a lady of remarkable elegance and refinement, as well as beauty. Her grace, her tact, and her extraordinary conversational powers, imparted to the dinners, and to the intimate receptions at the *Elysée*, a peculiar and unrivalled charm. Her taste in dress directed the fashions. Her love of music and the fine arts elevated the Court. Louis Napoleon shared the admiration of the public for his fair cousin; and scandal even magnified his partiality and affection for her into a grosser passion. Yet of the truth







ENG<sup>d</sup> BY JOHN SARTAIN.

COUNTESS CASTIGLIONE.

of this charge there is no proof; nor could there well be, in the nature of the case.

Since the marriage of the Emperor he has been attracted by the potent charms of at least two women, who have succeeded in leading him into lamentable lapses from conjugal fidelity. The first of these was Mademoiselle Lautre, a young *prima donna* of the Grand Opera of Paris. This lady was very beautiful, and very talented; and she so directed the expressive glances of her dark voluptuous eyes towards the imperial box, as to succeed in planting a love-dart in the bosom of its chief occupant. Her salary was immediately doubled; and when the fascinating *cantatrice* complained to her imperial lover in a moment of tenderness that the Opera House was very badly arranged to display the peculiar merits of her voice, he instantly replied: "Set fire to it, and I will build you another." But the fair artist was deficient, not in beauty nor in passion, but in discretion; and the *liaison* did not very long continue.

The second *inamorata* of the Emperor since his marriage was the noble and beautiful Countess de Castiglione. This lady was a native of Milan in Lombardy, and she belonged to one of those ancient and distinguished Lombard families, a portion of whom reside in Piedmont. Both at Turin and at Milan the ladies of the Castiglione family have long been renowned for their great beauty. Madame Castiglione had a good-natured husband, with whom she lived apparently on the best possible terms. She was not only a beautiful woman, but was also highly intellectual, accomplished, and refined. She never assumed the airs of a mistress, or the authority of a favorite, during the period of her connection with the Emperor. Her high birth and breeding prevented any such display of vulgarity; but certain it is that, for a time, the spell which she cast upon the imperial mind and fancy was powerful in the extreme. The gentle Eugenie strove in vain to conjure against the fascinating Italian magician. Time at length accomplished for the Empress what her own charms

had failed to do ; and an incident occurred on the 30th of April, 1857, which showed publicly that the reign of the haughty daughter of Italy, for some mysterious and unknown reason, had terminated. The Emperor and Empress were present at the revival of a well-known and admired opera, written by Etienne and Nicolo, called *Joconde*. A popular romance closes with these words :

“ On devient infidèle  
 On court de belle en belle,  
 Mais on revient toujours,  
 A ses premiers amours.

ENGLISH VERSION.

“ Oft we turn from fair to fair,  
 Faithless as the summer air,  
 But wherever we may rove,  
 Still we turn to our first love.”

When this couplet was recited Louis Napoleon looked significantly at the Empress, and nodded his head so decidedly, that the audience at once remarked and applauded the act. Eugenie blushed profusely, yet smiled sweetly in token of her joy. The very next day the fair and proud Countess de Castiglione started, with her complacent husband, for Lombardy.

It is barely possible that the criminality of this connection rests only in the suspicions of the perverse public. It is possible that the intelligence and wit of the Countess, rather than her beauty, attracted her imperial admirer. Louis Napoleon is almost constantly engaged in the laborious duties of his high office, and even his intercourse with the Empress must, to a great extent, be characterized by a political tinge ; their conversation must have frequent and constant reference to the onerous labors and responsibilities which rest upon him. It would therefore be a great relief to his care-tired thoughts to relax his mind in the gay and entertaining society of such a woman as the Countess, to whom politics and ambitious projects, dark conspiracies and formidable combinations were

total strangers. Such indeed may have been the nature of her association with the hero of the *coup d'etat*, in spite of all the uncharitable and malicious suppositions of the world.

Louis Napoleon is surrounded by living monuments of the incontinence of his illustrious race; for one of his chief favorites is the Count de Morny, who is an illegitimate son of Hortense. Another is Prince Walewski, the fruit of an amour of the great Napoleon with a beautiful Polish lady, the Countess Walewski, whom the conqueror met at the period of the battle of Eylau. Count de Morny was the French ambassador to the Court of St. Petersburg. Prince Walewski was the President of the famous Peace Congress of Paris, which terminated the war in the Crimea. These two noblemen, together with the Prince Napoleon, who strikingly resembles the great Napoleon in his person and in his features, constitute the chief favorites of the Imperial family; and they now share, in an eminent degree, the splendor, felicity, and power which are possessed by their remarkable and illustrious relative.

The reign of Louis Napoleon, in its influence upon French society, and in its relation to the French people, differs in its essential features from all its predecessors. The restored Bourbons of the elder branch, terminating with Charles X., established as far as they could a rigid and severe prudery; they fostered and promoted the spirit of courtly chivalry, which had flourished with genial pride and splendor, in the palmy days of the ancient monarchy; but which was indeed little consonant with the matter-of-fact genius of the present age. This policy on the part of the government compelled the frail and licentious to conceal their intrigues, and to simulate the possession of a virtue of which in reality they were destitute. The intrigues of the courtiers were as numerous as ever, but they were concealed, and elevated to some extent, by the instincts of the heart which generally dictated them.

Louis Philippe, the head of the Orleans dynasty, or younger

Bourbon branch, was the king and favorite of the *Bourgeoise*, and he set the example in his own family of the virtues which, in all civilized countries, are the distinctive characteristics of the middle classes. Family affection and domestic felicity, during his reign, and under the benign sanction of his exemplary wife and daughters, became more generally prevalent in the middle classes of France, than at any other period of her history.

The Napoleonic dynasty has always loved extreme magnificence and luxury; and Louis Napoleon, at the head of the second empire, is true to the traditions of his race. Napoleon I. exhibited his Italian descent by many indications; among the rest, even by his love of embroideries, finery, and every thing which glittered and flashed. He also strove to appeal to the French people through the influence of their imaginations. Hence, glory was the great aim and characteristic of his reign. Napoleon III. lives and toils for the same supreme results, but with this difference, that while the glory of the first empire was chiefly military, the glory of the second is chiefly civil. But glory of no description can be secured or supported without vast pecuniary resources. These resources the first Napoleon obtained by his military conquests; the second empire flourishes in equal splendor by means of the wealth which is won by speculation. The money-changers and the speculators now have their halcyon days in France, and bask in the golden felicities of an age and of a reign eminently propitious to their interests. Hence the passion for speculation has reached an extent and a degree which never before existed in France; and it may at last prove the fatal rock on which the government and empire of Louis Napoleon will split, after having successfully resisted every other foe, and happily escaped every other peril.

## CHAPTER XVII.

The visit of Napoleon III. and Eugenie to England in 1855—The journey of Queen Victoria to Paris—The Inundations in France in 1856—Louis Napoleon's great Administrative Talent—The pacific Splendors of the Empire—Visit of the Grand Duke Constantine of Russia to Paris—Review of Troops in the Capital in 1857—The magnificent *Coup d'Œil*—Louis Napoleon's *Etat Major*—Private Amusements of the French Court—Political apathy in France—Causes of that Apathy—The "Council of Regency"—The elections throughout France in June, 1857—Attempted Assassinations.

THE alliance between England and France having terminated so gloriously for the arms and the diplomacy of both countries, other acts of national amity ensued between them. In 1855 the French Emperor and Empress visited the British sovereign in her own dominions; the first instance probably in the history of the world in which a reigning French monarch set foot upon the soil of his hereditary foes. The rejoicings on this occasion were prodigious; and the man who once paced the streets of London penniless, and dependent on the amorous generosity of a woman of questionable virtue, was received in the same capital with universal greetings, with flying banners, with military salutes, with the congratulations of the sovereign and nobility, and with the joyful acclamations of millions. In a short time, Victoria and Albert returned the compliment, and the scene was changed from London to Paris. On that memorable occasion the gay and brilliant capital of France assumed unwonted hues of splendor, and exhibited scenes of festivity and rejoicing which had never before been equalled. The great centre of the world's civilization and luxury exhausted

her varied and infinite resources to impress, delight, and charm the august visitors.

The extraordinary inundations which deluged a portion of the French territory in 1856, called forth a degree of chivalrous and charitable daring on the part of the Emperor, which won for him fresh laurels among his subjects. As soon as the ravages of the swift and swollen Rhone were reported at Paris, the Emperor started for Lyons. It was at midnight. He arrived at that desolate city almost unattended, and instantly gave such orders as were adapted to afford relief. He passed fearlessly between crumbling houses and through dangerous currents. All Lyons resounded with his applause. From that city he proceeded to Provence. He penetrated to the very centre of the city of Avignon, in a small boat. He thence advanced to Arles over a vast inundated plain, frequently sailing in a frail nut-shell, over the tops of houses and trees. The same scenes were repeated at Orleans, at Blois, and at Tours. Everywhere the Emperor displayed great intrepidity in affording relief of all kinds to the myriads who had been ruined by the overwhelming floods.

Since his attainment of supreme power, Louis Napoleon has exhibited *administrative talent* of the first order. France is governed with the regularity and system of a gigantic piece of mechanism. Never before, even in the palmiest days of the great Napoleon, did more vigor, energy, and harmony pervade the administration; while in addition to this, the country is saved from the immense expense of blood and treasure which the insatiable ambition of that restless hero constantly entailed upon it. Recent improvements have been introduced into everything which the resources or the activity of the sovereign could possibly reach. The gay capital of the empire has been the special object of his care; and Paris seems almost to have thrown off the dingy and faded habiliments of past ages which still clung to her, and to have assumed the freshness, the beauty, and the energy of youth.



All the public monuments of architectural skill, the palaces, the temples, and the chief streets have, by his orders, been embellished, enlarged, repaired and renovated. Much as Paris owed to the Bourbons, to Napoleon I., and to the Orleans dynasty, she owes perhaps still more to Louis Napoleon.

Under his administration all the *pacific* splendors of the former empire have been restored. He has neglected no means of impressing upon the world, and upon his own subjects, the greatness of his power, and the security with which he sits upon his throne. All the appointments of his court are on the highest scale of magnificence. Those public reviews, by which the strength and majesty of his army are exhibited, are imposing in the extreme, and he embraces every opportunity to display them. One of these occasions was the visit paid by the Russian Grand Duke Constantine, to Paris, in May, 1857. The day was observed as a general festival in the capital. The review was appointed to commence at two o'clock in the afternoon, but for hours before the arrival of that period every avenue leading to the vast area of the *Champs de Mars* was crowded with endless masses of troops of all arms, and of every imaginable style of uniform, who were marching with stately tread and martial music to the grand rendezvous. As the hour approached for the review to commence, the scene presented was magnificent in the extreme. As far as the eye could reach, along both banks of the Seine, and through the immense perspective of the adjacent Boulevards, the glittering arms of cavalry and infantry flashed brightly in the rays of the refulgent sun; while the various strains of the multitudinous bands of music, and the loud sounding words of command from officers riding to and fro, came floating to the ear on the grateful and gentle breeze. For a long time after reaching the plain, the movements of the various bodies continued, advancing, receding, wheeling, and at last taking their positions in the line. As the hour of two was tolled from the lofty towers of the

Invalides, seventy thousand men stood motionless in military array, and disposed so as to produce the most sublime and impressive effect, awaiting the approach of that single person who had so heroically grasped and secured the sceptre of dominion in France. That moment of expectancy presented to the eye of the observer a scene of martial splendor equal to any ever witnessed by mortal eye. The military pageant was not the only element of splendor there. The place itself surpassed in magnificence any other spot on earth. The more prominent objects which met the eye were of matchless grandeur. The noble *façade* of the Ecole Militaire, the splendid dome of the Hotel des Invalides, the towering mass of the Arc-de-Triomphe, and a hundred other monuments of architectural beauty, as well as of historic celebrity, suggesting to the mind of the observer those memorable scenes of glory and felicity, as well as of misery and blood, through which France and her children had passed in former years;—all these were then within view, and combined with the majesty of military power which was assembled in their centre to form a *coup d'œil* such as no other locality in the world could present.

At length the graceful waving of white and red plumes, and the glittering of polished silver helmets on the *Pont de Jena*, the roll of a thousand drums and the music of a thousand trumpets, indicated the approach of Louis Napoleon and his illustrious guest. Surrounded by his magnificent *Etat Major*, composed of the chief officers of all the regiments, including many men of distinction, the Emperor rode with military precision into the centre of the gorgeous array. The *Champs de Mars*, familiar as it had been with the glories of the first empire, had never seen the conqueror of a hundred battle-fields surrounded with a halo of greater martial grandeur than that which then encompassed the man who had never seen a solitary conflict of arms, or had commanded a single battalion in the field. On the right of the Emperor

rode the Grand Duke Constantine, dressed in the costume of a Russian Admiral. At the side of these respectively, rode the Prince Napoleon and the Duke of Nassau. A crowd of illustrious commanders followed in the rear, including Marshals Bosquet, Canrobert, and Pelissier, together with three Russian generals of celebrity, Tottleben, Luders, and Liprandi. Behind these came the sumptuous carriage of the Empress Eugenie, who was arrayed in the most gorgeous and elegant toilette, and seemed the very picture of loveliness and beauty. Three times the splendid *cortége* passed through the field; after which the Emperor, the Grand Duke, and the Empress took up their position under the central pavilion of the Military School; and then the *defile* began. During three hours seventy thousand men, composed of seventy-four battalions of foot, sixty squadrons of cavalry, and a hundred and fifty pieces of artillery, marched by, to the inspiring notes of martial melody; all arrayed in new uniforms, with untarnished arms and accoutrements, and beneath a bright and propitious sky. Many of the regiments bore immortal names upon their colors, which must have forcibly reminded the Grand Duke Constantine of those far-famed and bloody struggles in which the colossal power of the first empire strove with desperate energy and effort to crush forever the throne of the Muscovite kings. Nevertheless the Grand Duke looked on complacently, and uttered nothing but polite phrases of commendation and praise.

Such are some of the pageantries with which Louis Napoleon regales and impresses the inhabitants of his capital. Within the precincts of his palace, and within the limits of his private domains, other scenes of a less imposing but equally diverting nature occur. The incidents which took place during the visit of the Russian Grand Duke to Paris, just alluded to, furnish an illustration of what royalty is in *dishabille*. Their majesties, the Emperor and Empress, and their guests, laying aside all ceremony and etiquette, took

part in such amusements as seem more appropriate to children on a holiday than to high and mighty potentates. They were entertained in the imperial park with a performance of learned dogs and monkeys, brought from the *cirque Napoleon*. After this exhibition was ended, the ladies of the company took possession of a steep and mossy mound, and undertook to defend it as a fortress against the attacks of the gentlemen ; the Empress acting as commander-in-chief of the fair Amazons.

One of the most singular peculiarities of France under the second empire, is the complete and almost universal apathy which is exhibited by the people in general in the affairs of the government, and in the details of the administration. That restless spirit which has so often thrown the whole French nation into a frenzy, seems to have expired ; and they appear to have delivered themselves over, body and soul, to the control and the supremacy of the chief of the State. The cause of this peculiar phenomenon is twofold :— the first is a conviction of the uselessness and futility of resistance and agitation at the present time. The agents of the imperial government are known to be so numerous, so active, and so determined, and the spirit which actuates Louis Napoleon is so dogmatical and exclusive, that any attempt on the part of the people to influence the course of the administration is readily believed to be futile. The Emperor constantly speaks of the freedom of the polls ; he declares that it shall not be invaded ; while at the same moment he proclaims a threat that whoever attempts to disturb the order and security of the government shall be severely punished : which means that those who do not on all occasions vote for the candidates whom the government specifies and approves, shall be severely punished. Under these circumstances, the boasted freedom of the elections is but an idle name, an absurd farce.

The second reason of this strange apathy is the confidence which the great majority of the French nation actually feel in

the sagacity and security of the imperial government; and a desire to enjoy a continuance of the favorable results which the policy and labors of Louis Napoleon have already obtained for France. It is undoubtedly true that, in regard to physical advantages, such as commerce, agriculture, arts, sciences, and education, France was never more prosperous and flourishing than she has been under the second empire; and it is natural that the French people should desire a permanence of this fortunate state of affairs. It is true that the ancient parties which are hostile to the Emperor still exist. The Legitimists, the Orleans party, and the Red Republicans, are not yet extinct. But it is very evident that their influence is insignificant, either separately or combined, when compared with the overwhelming power of the partisans, the patrons, and the employees of the imperial government.

In June, 1857, the general election for members of the *Corps Legislatif* took place throughout France. The result of the contest clearly demonstrated that the power of the factions hostile to the government was broken. The whole of France returned but half a dozen deputies who were representatives of the Opposition. The most important of these was General Cavaignac; but his subsequent premature death relieved the government of any disagreeable or dangerous results which might have followed his appearance in the national legislature.

In September, 1857, a preconcerted and formal interview took place between the French Emperor and the Russian monarch, the youthful Alexander II., at Stuttgart. The Empress of Russia and the Queen of Greece were also present. The King of Prussia had been invited; but for some important reasons of state he declined. The conferences continued during four days at the palace of the King of Wurtemberg. Measures of importance, as affecting the future peace of Europe and the relations of the high powers represented, were

discussed. One of these is understood to have been the settlement of the limits within which Russia and Great Britain shall be permitted in future to extend their conquests in the East. Thus the once penniless London vagabond sways the sceptre of his empire, with potent influence, not merely in Europe and in Africa, but even over the illimitable domains of Oriental climes and countries.

It has been the unfortunate fate of Louis Napoleon to have been frequently subjected to the perils of attempted assassination. These attempts have all been singularly unsuccessful; and their failure has led the credulous and the superstitious to believe that he possesses a charmed life. One of the most important of these attempts occurred in January, 1858. As the carriage of the Emperor approached the Italian Opera House three hollow projectiles were aimed at his person, and burst beneath his feet. Many persons were wounded, and some were killed among those who surrounded the imperial carriage; but both Napoleon and the Empress escaped unhurt. The chief conspirators were Italian refugees, some of whom suffered the richly-merited penalty of death for their sanguinary but unsuccessful purpose. In this abortive attempt upon the lives of the Emperor and Empress the names of Orsini and Pierri occupy an unenviable pre-eminence in ferocity and guilt.

The hopes of the Emperor and the policy of his administration were duly set forth in his Address to the French Legislature, delivered on the 18th of January, 1858. He concluded this Address with the following appropriate and significant language :

“ I have not accepted the honors of the nation with the aim of acquiring an ephemeral popularity, but in hope of deserving the approbation of posterity as the founder of established order. And I declare to you to-day, notwithstanding all that has been said on the contrary, that the future perils of your country will not arise from the excessive

prerogatives of the throne, but from the absence of repressive laws. Thus the last elections, despite their satisfactory results, offered in some districts a sad spectacle. Hostile parties availed themselves of that opportunity to create disturbances; and some men even avowed themselves as the enemies of our national institutions, deceived the electors by false promises, and after gaining their suffrages, rejected them with disdain. You will never allow such a scandal to occur again; and you will hereafter compel all the eligible to take the oath to the Constitution before presenting themselves as candidates for office.

“The tranquilizing of the public mind has been the aim of our constant efforts, and you will aid me in seeking means for reducing the factious opposition to silence. Is it not painful to witness in a country peaceful and prosperous at home, and respected abroad, one party decrying the government to which it is indebted for the security it enjoys, while another exerts its political liberty to undermine the existing institutions?

“I offer a hearty welcome to all those who recognize the national will, and I do not inquire into their antecedents. As for those who have originated disturbances, and organized the conspiracies, let them know that their time has gone by!

“I cannot close without mentioning that criminal attempt which has been recently made. I thank Heaven for the visible protection which it has granted to the Empress and myself; and I deeply deplore that a plan for destroying one life, should have ended in the loss of so many. Yet this thwarted scheme can teach us some useful lessons. The recourse to such desperate means is but a proof of the feebleness and impotence of the conspirators. And again, there never was an assassination which served the interests of the men who armed the murderer. Neither the party that struck Cæsar, nor that which slew Henry IV., profited by their overthrow. God sometimes permits the death of the just

but he never allows the triumph of the evil agent. Thus these attempts neither disturb my security in the present, nor my trust in the future. If I live, the Empire lives with me; if I fall, the Empire will be strengthened by my death, for the indignation of the people and of the army will be a new support for the throne of my son.

“Let us face the future with confidence, and calmly devote ourselves to the welfare and to the honor of our country. *Dieu protege la France!*”



## PART SECOND.

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### NAPOLEONIC MISCELLANY.

No inconsiderable portion of the interest of the history of Napoleon III. consists in the works which he published, in the private letters which he wrote, and in the official addresses which he delivered, during the progress of his career. In order to render the present work more complete, the writer has resolved to introduce into it a selection from the more important of these productions; but instead of interrupting the narrative by their insertion at different points and periods of it, they are placed together in a body in the following pages.

#### No. I.

*Louis Napoteon's Views of the English Revolution; from his "Historical Fragments."*

The English wanted the same things all through this period of their history, and did not rest until they had obtained the object of their wishes. From the sixteenth century the English tried to get,

Firstly — and above all things — the establishment of their reformed religion, which comprehended all national interests

Secondly — the preponderance of their navy, and consequently an increased influence on the continent.

Thirdly — the full use of their freedom.

Elizabeth confirmed the triumph of the cause of Protestantism, she added to the national glory, and her memory was revered

The republic and the Protector concealed their despotic and selfish views under the name of national dignity. They passed away.

The Stuarts went counter to the three great wishes of the majority of England. They fell.

William III. alone confirmed at once the religion, the glory, and the liberties of his country. He consolidated his work.

It is not, then, chance which rules the fate of nations; it is not an unforeseen circumstance which overthrows or supports thrones: there is a general cause which regulates events, and which makes them really dependent on each other.

*A government may often violate the laws, and even liberty, with impunity; but unless it truly puts itself at the head of the great interests of civilization, it can only have a transient existence; and the plain, philosophical reason, which is the cause of its death, is called fatality, when it is wished to avoid the true reason.*

England required nearly a century of struggles between society and the evil passions of those in power, and *vice versa*, before she could ever erect that immense *English structure which we have hated, which we have tried to overthrow, but which we cannot but admire.*

The revolution of 1688 has procured for England one hundred and fifty-three years of prosperity, grandeur, and liberty.

Will the revolution of July bestow the same blessings on France? The future must settle this question.

Without wishing to pry into the mysteries of Providence, let us content ourselves with examining the causes and effects of these great political dramas, and seek in the history of the past some consolation for our ills, some hope for our country.

England, tired of civil wars, disabused of the sacredness of parties and the excellence of the regal power, preserved but one object of hatred, one of love, as the result of her struggles — hatred of Popery and love of power.

In recording the principal facts of the revolution in England, one naturally feels a reluctance, as a Catholic, to treat those men with contempt who supported that religion in Great Britain; but, on a close investigation, we see the justice of disliking those who, by their blind zeal and rashness, compromised and rendered the true doctrine of Christ unpopular in England, by making it a handle for a party, and the instrument of their passions. Their conduct should be branded; for never had the Catholic religion found so genial a soil as that of England, to rule by the purity of its principles and its moral influence. Persecuted by the royal power, it followed the example of the aristocracy, and to avenge its wrongs put itself at the head of the national liberties. This was an admirable position for action, for it was independent of the temporal power, only acknowledging as chief the Chief of the universal church, while the Anglicans then only derived their rights and privileges from the will and power of the head of the government. But the Catholic clergy, dazzled by worldly interests, lost themselves by joining the oppressors of the people instead of joining the oppressed. Every enlightened mind was so well convinced that the Stuarts were about to ruin the cause of religion, that Pope Innocent IX. loudly expressed his displeasure at the imprudent conduct of James II., and the cardinals of Rome said, jestingly, that "James II. ought to be excommunicated, as a man who was about to destroy the remnant of Catholicism that was left in England."

The Prince of Orange did not abuse his triumph on the first feeling of enthusiasm which the people entertained for their deliverer. William did not come to take a crown by assault; he came to consolidate the destinies of England; he had destroyed the principle of hereditary succession, a principle hitherto regarded as inviolable and sacred; and he could only combat it by another principle, that of the sovereignty of the people. An acquired and acknowledged right can only be done away by giving in its stead another right,

legally acquired and acknowledged. Counsellors were not wanting who advised him to take possession of the government by right of conquest, as William the Conqueror had done, forgetting that six hundred years of civilization had added more to the strength of the national right than to that of the sword. Others also urged him to seize the crown, representing the dangers of anarchy, that convenient phantom which always serves as an excuse to tyranny.

William remained firm; he would not be an usurper.

His conduct was reserved and dignified; he had remained unmoved amidst the passions which raged around him, and had not entered into any intrigues either with the electors or members of Parliament. He was frequently blamed for his cold and distant manner to those whose interest he required; but William's great mind disdained popularity acquired by meanness. This was indeed a sublime proof that he was not dazzled by the splendor of a crown, but that he was desirous of fulfilling his mission, and of rendering his cause triumphant.

What means shall he employ to surmount them? One only, and it will succeed. It is to remain faithful to the cause of the revolution which had summoned him, and to render it triumphant at home by its justice, and formidable abroad by its boldness.

Though there was a party opposed to the new state of things, which was called the republican or revolutionary party, they kept quiet, which proved that if they did not make common cause with William, they still thought that he guaranteed the general interests against the common enemy. There were also some of those fanatics who place the destinies of their country on the point of the dagger, who attempted the king's life; but they were sent back with contempt to the ordinary tribunals, under the idea that giving too much publicity to an attempt at assassination was encouraging others.

The Stuarts never sought by the application of any great

principle, whether they could assure the prosperity and independence of their country, but by what little expedients, by what hidden intrigues, they could support their always troubled power.

They desired to re-establish Catholicity: they annihilated it for centuries in England. They wished to elevate royalty: they only compromised it. They wished to assure order, and they brought confusion on confusion. It is a true saying, then, that

*The greatest enemy to religion is the man who would impose it; the greatest foe to royalty is he who degrades it; the greatest enemy to the repose of his country is he who renders a revolution necessary.*

Let us now consider what would have been the consequences, if the prince, after having dethroned James II., and violated the hereditary principle, had accepted the throne from James II.'s last Parliament, and instead of convoking a National Assembly—the free expression of the popular will—had held his authority from a bastard Assembly, who would not have any right to present him with it.

William III. satisfied the exigencies of his reign, and re-established public order; but had he followed the Stuart policy he would have destroyed it, and the enemies of the English nation, on again witnessing a desire for change, would have accused the people of *inconsistency* and *frivolity*, instead of accusing the government of blindness and perfidy. It would have been asserted that England was an *ungovernable* nation.

The history of England calls loudly to monarchs, MARCH AT THE HEAD OF THE IDEAS OF YOUR AGE, AND THEN THESE IDEAS WILL FOLLOW AND SUPPORT YOU.

IF YOU MARCH BEHIND THEM, THEY WILL DRAG YOU ON.

AND IF YOU MARCH AGAINST THEM, THEY WILL CERTAINLY PROVE YOUR DOWNFALL.

## No. II.

*Louis Napoleon's Letter respecting his Father, to the Minister of the Interior.*

FORTRESS OF HAM, Dec. 25, 1845.

SIR: My father, whose age and infirmities require the attention of a son, has asked the government to allow me to join him.

His application has not been attended with a favorable result.

The government, I am told, requires a formal guarantee from me. In such circumstances my determination cannot be doubtful. I am ready to do every thing compatible with my honor, in order to offer to my father those consolations to which he has so many claims.

I now, therefore, declare to you, sir, that if the French government consent to allow me to go to Florence, to discharge a sacred duty, I promise, upon my honor, to return and to place myself at the disposal of the government, as soon as it shall express a desire that I shall do so.

Accept, sir, the expression of my high esteem.

NAPOLEON LOUIS BONAPARTE.

## No. III.

*Letter to Louis Napoleon respecting the Nicaragua Canal.*

LEON DE NICARAGUA, Dec. 6, 1845.

PRINCE: It is with the greatest pleasure I acknowledge the receipt of your highness's letter, dated the 12th of August, containing the expression of sentiments of friendship and esteem with which I feel highly honored. Annexed to it I found the development of your ideas relative to the canal of Nicaragua, viewed by you in that light which is best calculated to promote the welfare of Central America. You, at the same time, acquaint me that you are far more

disposed than when I first paid you a visit at Ham to come to this country, in order to advance, by your presence and exertions, the execution of that great work, sufficient of itself to satisfy the most noble ambition, and that you are ready to accept the necessary powers for its execution, without any other view than that of performing a task worthy of the great name you possess.

When I went to France, some time ago, as minister plenipotentiary to his majesty the King of the French, I was anxious, before leaving Europe, to pay you a visit at Ham. I longed for the honor of seeing you, not only on account of the popularity which invested your name throughout the world, but also because I had myself witnessed the high esteem in which your character was held in your own country, and the sympathy exhibited for your misfortunes.

It was also my wish, prince, to prevail on you to come to my country, fully convinced that you would find there an admirable opportunity for the display of your activity, and the exercise of your talents, which continued inaction might exhaust. I admired, prince, your resignation, and the love of your native land, standing even the test of imprisonment; but it was with great pleasure that I saw your mind exulted at the recital of the immense work to be executed in my country for the general advancement of civilization.

I am happy to see by your highness's letter, that you feel disposed to come to this country, where the documents you have forwarded to me have elicited sentiments of the deepest gratitude and of the liveliest enthusiasm.

Now, I am happy to be enabled to acquaint your highness that the government of this state, fully convinced that the capital necessary to this undertaking could only be raised by placing at its head a name which, like yours, is independent both by fortune and standing, and thereby inspiring a general confidence in the two worlds, whilst it dispels from the easily alarmed spirit of our people every fear of foreign domination—this government, I say, relies upon the co-ope-

ration of your highness, as the only person combining in the highest degree these different qualities. Brought up in a republic, your highness has shown by your noble behavior in Switzerland, in 1838, to what extent a free people may rely on your self-denial; and we feel convinced that, if your uncle, the great Napoleon, has rendered himself immortal by his military glory, your highness may acquire, with us, an equal glory in works of peace, which cause only tears of gratitude to flow.

From the day on which your highness shall set foot on our soil, a new era of prosperity for the inhabitants will commence.

The most influential persons of this capital, distinguished both by their learning and their wealth, have presented to the government a memorial recommending that your highness be entrusted with the final settlement and terms of the impending negotiation, or of any other which might present itself—intended to promote the welfare of the State of Nicaragua. The government has not rejected the suggestion, but it appears that, at all events, it will feel disposed to send me to you with the necessary instructions, to enable your highness and myself to come to an understanding on the subject.

Another cause of the delay is the recent popular outbreak in the country; but the number of malcontents being exceedingly small, and the government being supported by public opinion, I think that this revolution will soon be appeased, and the government will be able to display all the elements upon which it relies to insure permanent peace, and to give this project the strong impulse it justly demands. The government is moreover convinced that the construction of the canal, by giving employment to all those hands which are now unoccupied, will contribute efficaciously to the tranquility and good of the people, harassed, for a long time, by the horrors of civil war.

As much from a desire of bringing to a favorable issue this important matter, in which I am especially disposed to co-



operate with all my ability, as from an ardent hope of seeing your highness ruling the destinies of our country, I long for the honor of paying you, were it but a few hours, a visit at Ham, which I quitted last year full of grief at the prolongation of a captivity from which I earnestly prayed God to grant you a speedy release.

I beg that your highness will continue to honor me with your correspondence, and that you will accept the expression of my respectful sentiments.

FRANC. CASTELLAN.

#### No. IV.

*Letter of Odillon Barrot to the Prince Napoleon.*

*Feb. 25, 1846.*

PRINCE: Our renewed negotiations have proved a failure; and if I have delayed to inform you of the fact, it was because up to yesterday I still retained some hope. The government speaks of present circumstances—the state of Italy—that of Switzerland. These circumstances would, nevertheless, have been overlooked, had a more explicit guarantee been given in your letter, because then they would have dispensed with the council of ministers. But politics not having been put out of the question, it was necessary to yield to the considerations of public order which prevailed in the council. So, for the present, considering the circumstances, no liberation is to be looked for.

It is with great pain that I inform you of this result; I had begged Valmy to say to the king, that if we had completely differed, since 1830, in political opinions, I hoped that, at least, we agreed in sentiments of humanity and generosity. I now see that this is another of my Utopian ideas, which I shall be compelled to renounce.

Accept, &c.

ODILLON BARROT.

## No. V.

*Louis Napoleon's Letter to M. Vieillard.*

LONDON, May 11, 1848.

MY DEAR M. VIEILLARD : I have not yet answered the letter which you addressed me from St. Lo, because I was waiting your return to Paris, when I would have an opportunity to explain my conduct.

I was not desirous to present myself as candidate at the elections, because I am convinced my position in the Assembly would have been extremely embarrassing. My name, my antecedents, have made of me, willing or unwilling, not a party chief, but a man upon whom the eyes of all malcontents are fixed. As long as French society shall remain unsettled, as long as the constitution shall remain undecided, I feel that my position in France will be to me extremely difficult, wearisome, and even dangerous.

I have then taken the firm resolution of keeping myself apart, and of resisting all the charms a residence in my own country should possess.

If France needed me ; if my part were marked out ; if, in short, I thought I could be useful to my country,—I would not hesitate to fling aside these secondary considerations, and to fulfil my duty. But, in the present circumstances, I can do no good ; at most, I should only be in the way.

On the other hand, I have important personal interests to attend to in England ; I shall wait here a few months longer then, until affairs in France assume a calmer and more decided aspect.

I do not know but that you will blame me for this resolution ; but, if you had an idea of the number of ridiculous propositions that reach me even here, you would easily understand how much more I should be a butt in Paris for all sorts of intrigues.

I do not want to meddle in any thing ; I desire to see the

republic become strong in wisdom and in rights, and, in the mean time, I find voluntary exile very agreeable, because I know it to be voluntary.

Receive, &c.

L. N. BONAPARTE.

No. VI.

*Letter of Louis Napoleon to the National Assembly.*

CITIZEN REPRESENTATIVES: I learn, by the newspapers, that it has been proposed in the National Assembly to maintain against me alone the law of exile which has been in force against my family since the year 1816; I now apply to the representatives of the people for information why I have deserved such a penalty.

Can it be for having always publicly declared that, in my opinion, France was not the property either of an individual, or of a family, or of a party?

Can it be because, desiring to accomplish the triumph, without anarchy or license, of the principles of national sovereignty, which alone can put an end to our dissensions, I have been twice the victim of my hostility to a government which you have overthrown?

Can it be for having consented, out of deference to the wish of the provisional government, to return to a foreign country after having hastened to Paris upon the first report of the revolution?

Can it be for having disinterestedly refused those nominations for the Assembly which were proffered to me, being resolved not to return to France until the new constitution should be agreed upon and the republic firmly established?

The same reasons which have made me take up arms against the government of Louis Philippe, would induce me, were my services required, to devote myself to the defence of the Assembly — the result of universal suffrage.

In presence of a king elected by two hundred deputies, I might have recollected that I was heir to an empire founded by the consent of four millions of Frenchmen.

In the presence of the national sovereignty I neither can nor will claim more than my rights as a French citizen; but these I will demand incessantly, and with the energy imparted to an honest heart by the consciousness of never having done any thing to render it unworthy of its country.

## No. VII.

### *Curious Scene in the National Assembly.*

The papers of the 24th of October, 1848, contained the following letter, signed by Prince Napoleon, son of Jerome :

“Some well-informed persons having warned representative Louis Bonaparte that certain simpletons were secretly laboring to get up a riot in his name, with the evident object of compromising him in the eyes of men of order, and of sincere republicans, Louis Napoleon considered it his duty to make M. Dufaure, Minister of the Interior, aware of these reports; he added that he utterly denied any participation in dealings so completely opposed to his political sentiments, and to the conduct which he has invariably pursued since the 24th of February.”

The appearance of this note was the occasion of a violent altercation in the Assembly.

M. Grandin asked the minister for some explanation regarding this note, and the information alluded to by the prince. M. Dufaure replied that he had himself heard of these reports, and added that he had immediately re-assured Louis Napoleon, by telling him that he was misinformed, and that no plot of such a nature was in contemplation.

Hereupon Prince Napoleon stepped towards the tribune.

The following almost verbal report of the ensuing scene is not without interest :

*Voice on the Left* (to Prince Napoleon). — It is not your business to speak. The other one must speak — Louis Bonaparte!

*Several Members.* — He is absent.

Many members of the Left, rising from their seats, look in the direction of M. Louis Bonaparte's usual place: they perceive that his seat is occupied by another representative. They cry out none the less to M. Napoleon Bonaparte, still making his way to the tribune: No, not you — the other one.

*M. N. Bonaparte* (in the tribune).—I do not come—(loud interruption).

*Numerous Voices.* — Not you! The other, the other!

M. N. Bonaparte struggles against the interruptions for a quarter of an hour; at last silence is restored, and he insists that he has a right to speak on the subject, since he is the author of the letter. He explains that it was sent to the papers with the particular purpose to prove that the Bonaparte family never had anything to do, and never would have anything to do, with riots. As soon as he left the tribune, representative Clement-Thomas occupied it.

*M. Clement-Thomas.* — Gentlemen, I know it is a failing of mine to be always wanting to sift things to the bottom; and I am afraid this unpleasant feature in my character is going to make its appearance again to-day. But I must say, I am astonished that when a matter personally concerning *one* member of this Assembly is brought before you, it is *another* member that appears to answer for it. (Interruption —uproar.)

*A Voice.* — The other is absent.

*M. Clement-Thomas.* — It is not the first time that I remark the absence of representative Louis Bonaparte from this Assembly.

*Several Members.* — What is that to you?

*A Member.* — This is scandalous.

*M. Clement-Thomas.*—It is unnecessary for me to say that I speak here in nobody's name; no more for any party in the

Assembly than for the government. No one is responsible for my words but myself. Well, then, I repeat it, it is not the first time that I remark the absence of M. Louis Bonaparte. (New interruption.)

*A Voice.* — He is never here.

*Another Voice.* — He never votes.

*M. Clement-Thomas.* — And when I say this I know why I say it. You cannot deny that there are certain members of this Assembly who are about to present themselves to the country as candidates for very elevated and very important offices. (Vociferous exclamations—many members grouped in the passage on the right of the tribune, among whom are MM. N. Bonaparte, Pierre Bonaparte, Petri, &c., loudly interrupt the orator.)

*The President Marrast* (ringing his bell). — The representatives standing in the passage will please resume their seats.

By this time a violent agitation pervades the Assembly generally.

*M. Clement-Thomas.* — I say that several members of this Assembly are about to offer themselves to the people. But it is not by hardly ever attending your sittings, it is not by taking no part in your voting, it is not by maintaining a reserved silence on whence we come, where we go, what we want, that we can pretend to gain the confidence of such a country as France. For my part, I suspect such tactics. (Interruption.)

*M. N. Bonaparte* (quickly). — Vote against them then.

*Some Members.* — Order, order!

*President Marrast.* — Monsieur Napoleon Bonaparte, if you interrupt again I shall call you to order.

*M. Clement-Thomas.* — Since M. Napoleon Bonaparte is so ready to answer for his cousin —

*Several Voices.* — He has spoken for him already.

*M. Clement-Thomas.* — I will ask him if it is not true that

at this very moment agents are canvassing the provinces for M. Louis Bonaparte.

*Some Members.* — Well, what of that?

*M. Clement-Thomas.*—I will ask him if it is not true that in every department they are presenting him to the least enlightened portion of the population? And if this be true, I ask M. Napoleon Bonaparte, on what title does his cousin put forward his claims? (Interruption.)

*M. Isambert.* — On his title of citizen.

*M. N. Bonaparte.* — Are we here to discuss candidates for the presidency?

*M. Clement-Thomas.* — M. Isambert tells me that every citizen has a right to present himself to the suffrages of his country; but it seems to me that pretensions of this nature should be supported by *real* titles.

*M. Pierre Bonaparte.* — That is impertinent, sir.

*M. Pietri.*—Totally unbecoming! Who made you a judge of titles?

*M. N. Bonaparte* (indignantly).—We may be proscribed, but we must not be insulted! (General tumult.)

M. Clement-Thomas, seeing he has gone too far, leaves the tribune, amidst unmistakable marks of universal disapprobation.

Perhaps he wished Louis Napoleon to send him a challenge.

“One would think,” said a general on his way home, after this scene: “one would think that M. Clement-Thomas has sufficient confidence in his sword, to rely upon it altogether for simplifying the presidential election.”

## No. VIII.

### *Speech of Louis Napoleon in the National Assembly.*

Of my sentiments or of my opinions I shall not speak; I have already set them before you, and no one as yet has had reason to doubt my word. As to my parliamentary conduct,

I will say that as I never permit myself the liberty of bringing any of my colleagues to an account for the course which he thinks proper to pursue, so, in like manner, I never recognize in him the right to call me to an account for mine; this account I owe only to my constituents. (Hear, hear!)

Of what am I accused? Of accepting from the popular sentiment a nomination after which I have not sought. (Disturbance.) Well! I accept this nomination, that does me so much honor; I accept it, because three successive elections, and the unanimous decree of the National Assembly, reversing the proscriptions against my family, authorize me to believe that France regards the name I bear to be serviceable for the consolidation of society, now shaken to its foundations,—(Oh, oh! interruption)—and for the establishment and prosperity of the republic.

How little do those who charge me with ambition know my heart! If an imperative duty did not keep me here, if the sympathy of my fellow-citizens did not console me for the violence of the attacks of some, and even for the impetuosity of the defences of others, long since would I have regretted my exile. (Citizens Clement-Thomas and Flocon start up to speak. Commotion. Cries of order! order!)

I am reproached for my silence! Few persons here are gifted with the faculty of eloquent speech obedient to just and sound ideas. But is there only one way to serve our country? What she wants most of all is acts; what she wants is a government, firm, intelligent, and wise, more desirous to heal the evils of society than to avenge them—a government that would openly set itself at the head of just ideas, and thus repel a thousand times more effectually than with bayonets those theories which are not founded on experience and reason.

I know that parties intend to set my path with pits and snares; but I shall not fall into them. I shall always follow, in my own way, the course which I have traced out, without troubling myself or stopping to see who is pleased. Nothing



shall interrupt my tranquillity, nothing shall induce me to forget my duty. I have but one aim; it is to merit the esteem of the Assembly, and with this esteem, that of all good men, and the confidence of that magnanimous people that was made so light of here yesterday. (Exclamations.)

I declare then to those who may be willing to organize a system of provocation against me, that, henceforward, I shall reply to no questioning, to no species of attack, to none who would have me speak when I prefer to be silent. Strong in the approval of my conscience, I shall remain immovable amidst all attacks, impassible towards all calumnies.

## No. IX.

### *First Inaugural Address of President Napoleon.*

The prince slowly ascended the tribune, and turned his face towards the president, who, in a loud and deliberate voice, read the oath of fidelity to the constitution :

“In the presence of God, and before the French people, represented by the National Assembly, you swear to remain faithful to the democratic republic, and to defend the constitution.”

“I swear,” said the prince, earnestly, holding up his right hand.

“I take God and man to witness the oath just sworn,” cried the President Marrast. “It shall be inserted in the official report, in the *Moniteur*, and published in the forms prescribed by the public acts.” These words, which might be considered as rather uncalled for, produced an evident impression on all present; but the new president of the republic took no notice of it, and read the following inaugural discourse :

**CITIZEN REPRESENTATIVES :** The suffrages of the nation and the oath which I have taken command my future conduct. My duty is marked out; I shall fulfil it as a man of honor.

I shall treat as enemies of the country all those who may attempt to change, by illegal means, what entire France has established.

Between you and me, citizen representatives, no real dissensions should exist : our wills, our desires are the same.

I wish, like you, to place society on its bases, to strengthen democratic institutions, and to try every means to relieve the sufferings of the generous and intelligent people that has just given me such a splendid mark of confidence. (Cheers.)

The majority which I have obtained not only fills me with gratitude, but it shall impart to the new government the moral force without which there is no authority.

With the re-establishment of peace and order, our country can arise, heal her wounds, collect her stray children, and calm her passions.

Animated with this conciliatory spirit, I have called around me men of honesty, talent, and patriotism, fully assured that, notwithstanding the differences of their political origin, they are determined to co-operate harmoniously with you in applying the constitution to the perfection of the laws, to the glory of the republic. (Marked approbation.)

The new administration, in entering on business, must thank its predecessor for its efforts to transmit the power intact, and to maintain public tranquility. (New applause.)

The conduct of the honorable General Cavaignac has been worthy of the loyalty of his character, and of that sentiment of duty which is the first qualification of the head of a State. (Loud cheers.)

We have, citizen representatives, a great mission to fulfil : it is to found a republic for the interest of all, and a government just, firm, and animated with a sincere love of progress, without being either reactionary or Utopian.

Let us be men of the country, not men of a party, and, with the assistance of God, we shall accomplish useful if not great things.

## No. X.

*Letter of Louis Napoleon to his Cousin.*

ELYSEE NATIONAL, April 10, 1849.

MY DEAR COUSIN: It is said that on your way through Bourdeaux you made use of words capable of sowing dissension even among the best intentioned. You are reported to have said that I did not follow my own inspirations because I was ruled by the leaders of the reactionary movement; that I was impatient of the yoke, and wanted to shake it off; and that, in order to assist me at the approaching elections, it was necessary to send to the Chamber men hostile to my government, rather than those belonging to the moderate party.

Such an imputation coming from you cannot but surprise me. You should know me well enough to be aware that I never brook the ascendancy of any one, and that I struggle incessantly to govern for the interest of the people, not for the interest of a party. I honor those men who by their capacity and experience can give me good counsels; but if I receive daily the most contradictory advice, I obey nothing but the impulses of my own head and heart.

Censure of my political conduct was last of all to be expected from *you*, who found fault with my manifesto, because it had received the entire sanction of the chiefs of the moderate party. This manifesto, from which I have not deviated, still continues to be the conscientious expression of my sentiments.

My first duty was to reassure the country. Well, confidence has been increasing during the last four months. Every day has its own task. Security first, reform afterwards.

The approaching elections, I entertain no doubt, by strengthening the republic in order and moderation, will hasten the period of all possible reforms. To bring all the old parties together, to reconcile them, to unite them, should be the constant object of our exertions. Such is the mission

attached to the great name we bear; and it would prove a failure if it served to divide and not to rally the supporters of the government.

For all these reasons I cannot approve of your being nominated by a score of departments at once; for, consider it well, under the protection of your name, it is expected to send to the Assembly representatives hostile to the government, and to discourage its best friends by wearying the people with multiplied elections which should be made over again.

Henceforward, then, I hope, my dear cousin, you will use every exertion to enlighten the people regarding my real intentions, and to avoid furnishing grounds, by inconsiderate expressions, for absurd calumnies which go so far as to assert that sordid self-interest alone rules my conduct. Nothing, repeat it aloud, shall trouble the serenity of my judgment or shake the strength of my resolution.

## No. XI.

### *Proclamation of Louis Napoleon.*

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

Some factious men presume once more to lift the standard of revolt against a legitimate government — legitimate, because it is the production of universal suffrage. They accuse me of having violated the Constitution — me, who have patiently endured for six months all their sneers, their calumnies, their defiances.

The majority of the Assembly itself is the constant theme of their outrages.

The accusation brought against me is only a pretext. Of this the proof is, that those who attack me now persecuted me with the same hatred, and with the same injustice, at the time when the people of Paris nominated me as their representative, and the people of France as president of their republic

This system of agitation maintains a state of uneasiness and mistrust that entails misery. *It must cease.*

It is time for the good to take courage and the wicked to tremble.

The republic has no enemies more implacable than those men who, by perpetuating disorder, compel us to change France into a vast camp, and our projects for amelioration and progress into preparations for defence.

Elected by the nation, the cause which I defend is your own. It is that of your family as of your property; of the poor as of the rich; that of civilization, in whole and in part.

## No. XII.

*Annual Message of President Napoleon to the Assembly,  
November, 1850.*

Our arms have overthrown that turbulent demagoguism which has compromised the cause of real liberty throughout the Italian peninsula, and our brave soldiers have had the signal honor of restoring Pius IX. to the throne of St. Peter. Party spirit shall never obscure this fact, which will always form a glorious page in the history of France. The constant aim of our exertions has been to encourage the liberal and philanthropic dispositions of the Holy Father. The pontifical power continues to realize the promises contained in the *Motu Proprio* of September, 1849.

Touching questions that most deeply engaged the minds of all, the message spoke with reserve, though the meaning of several passages was clear enough. Towards the end, it said :

Notwithstanding the difficulty of circumstances, law and authority have so far recovered their empire that now no one dreams of the success of violent measures. But, on the other hand, the more fears diminish regarding the present, the more they increase regarding the future. *France first*

*of all wants repose.* She is hardly yet recovered from the dangers that threatened society, and remains indifferent to quarrels between parties or individuals, in the presence of the great interests that are at stake.

Farther on, he says :

As first magistrate of the republic, I have been obliged to put myself in communication with the clergy, the magistracy, the agriculturists, the manufacturers, the people, in short, and the army ; and I have taken care to seize every opportunity to show them my gratitude for the support they have given me. If my name and my efforts have succeeded in arousing the spirit of the army, *of which I alone, according to the terms of the Constitution, have the power to dispose,* it is a service, I venture to say, which I have rendered the country, for I have always directed my personal influence to the advantage of order.

It is now permitted to every one, except myself, to desire the speedy revision of our fundamental law. If the Constitution contains vices and dangers, *you* are at liberty to hold them up before the gaze of the country. I alone, bound down by my oath, circumscribe myself within its strictly drawn limits.

The councils general have, in great numbers, expressed a wish for its revision. This wish is addressed to the legislative power. *As for me, the elect of the people, amenable but to the people, I shall always conform to the wishes of the people legally expressed.*

If in this session you vote the revision of the Constitution, our fundamental laws shall be reformed, and the system of the executive authority regulated ; if you do *not* vote it, *the people, in 1852, will solemnly manifest the expression of their new wishes.* But whatever may be the solutions of the future, let *us* understand each other, so that it may never be left to passion, or surprise, or violence, to decide the fate of a great nation. Let us inspire the people with a love of repose, by introducing calmness into our deliberations • let

us inspire them with a love of rectitude, by never forgetting its dictates ourselves : then, rely upon it, the progress made in our political morals will compensate for *the danger of institutions created in days of suspicions and uncertainties.*

What occupies me especially is, not to know who shall govern France in 1852, but to employ the time at my disposal in such a manner that the transition, whatever it may be, may take place without trouble or agitation.

The employment which is noblest and worthiest of a generous soul is, not to seek, when one is in power, by what expedients he can retain himself there, but to seek incessantly for the means of consolidating, for the benefit of all, those principles of authority and morality which are continually struggling with the passions of men and the instability of the laws.

I have loyally opened my heart to you ; you will correspond to my frankness by your confidence, to my good intentions by your co-operation, and God will do the rest.

### No. XIII.

#### *Famous Speech of President Napoleon at Dijon.*

I wish that such persons as entertain apprehensions regarding the future had accompanied me through the populations of the Yonne and the Cote d'Or. They would have had their minds set at rest by being able to judge for themselves of the real state of public feeling. They would have seen that neither intrigue, nor attacks, nor passionate discussions of parties are in harmony with the sentiments and the situation of the country.

France does not wish either the return of the ancient *régime*—no matter under what form it may be disguised—or the trial of evil and impracticable Utopias. It is because I am the most natural adversary of the one and the other, that she has placed her confidence in me. If it be not so, how

else can be explained this touching sympathy entertained by the people towards me, which, whilst it repels the most ruinous controversies, absolves me from being the cause of their sufferings ?

In fact, if my government has not realized all the ameliorations which it has had in view, the blame lies in the manœuvres of factions which paralyze the good dispositions of Assemblies, as well as those of governments the most devoted to the public good. For the last three years it could be remarked that I was always seconded whenever the question was to subdue disorder by coercive enactments. And whenever I wished to do good, to establish the landed influence or to ameliorate the condition of the poorer classes, I met with nothing but inertness. It is because you have shared those convictions that I have found in patriotic Burgundy such a reception as is at once for me both approbation and encouragement.

I take advantage of this banquet, as if it were a public tribune, to open to my fellow-citizens the bottom of my heart. A new phase of our political life is commencing. From one end of France to the other, petitions are being signed in favor of the revision of the Constitution ; I await with confidence the manifestation of the country and the decision of the Assembly, which can only be actuated by the sole thought of the public good. If France feels that she must not be disposed of against her will, France has but to say so ; she shall not be without my courage and my energy.

Since I came into power, I have proved how much, in the presence of the grave interests of society, I disregarded whatever affected myself personally. The most unjust and the most violent attacks have failed to affect my attitude of calmness. Whatever duties the country may impose, she shall find me resolute to execute her will. And believe me, gentlemen, France shall not perish in my hands.



## No. XIV.

*Second Annual Message of President Napoleon.*

A vast demagogical conspiracy is now organizing in France and Europe. Secret societies are endeavoring to extend their ramifications even into the smallest communes. Without being able to agree on men or things, they have agreed to bring all the madness, the violence, and the obduracy of parties to a focus in 1852, not to construct, but to overthrow.

Your patriotism and your courage, with which I will endeavor to keep pace, will, I am sure, save France from the dangers with which she is threatened. But to conquer these dangers we must look at them without fear and without exaggeration; and, whilst convinced, thanks to the strength of the administration, to the enlightened zeal of the magistrates, and to the devotion of the army, that France cannot perish, let us unite our efforts to deprive the spirit of evil even of the hope of a momentary success.

The best means to attain this end has always appeared to me the application of that system which consists, on the one hand, in satisfying the legitimate interests; and, on the other, in stifling, at the moment of their appearance, the slightest symptoms of an attack against religion, morality, or society.

Thus, to procure labor by granting to companies our great lines of railway, and with the money which the state will procure from these projects to give a strong impulse to the other works in all the departments; to encourage the institutions destined to develop agricultural or commercial credit; to come, by the establishment of charitable institutions, to the assistance of poverty,—such has been, and such still must be, our first care; and it is by following this course that it will be easier to recur to means of repression when their necessity shall have become felt.

After describing the state of the country, he comes to the grand feature of the message — the restoration of universal

suffrage. He uses every argument to urge them to an adoption of the measure.

The state of general uneasiness, said he, is increasing every day. Employment grows slack, poverty spreads, the interests become more apprehensive, and expectations hostile to society become more exulting as the almost exhausted public authorities approach their term.

In such a state of things, my duty is the same to-day as it was yesterday. It consists in maintaining order, and in removing every occasion of disturbance, so that the resolutions which are to decide our fate may be conceived in tranquillity and adopted in peace.

These resolutions can emanate only from a decisive act of the national sovereignty, since they have popular election for a basis. Well! I have asked myself whether, in the presence of the delirium of passions, of the confusion of doctrines, of the division of parties, when everything is combined to attack morality, justice, and authority, we ought to leave shaken and incomplete the only principle which, in the middle of the general chaos, Providence has kept standing to rally us around it.

Since universal suffrage has reconstructed the social edifice by substituting a right for a revolutionary fact, is it wise in us to narrow its basis any longer? Finally, I have asked myself if, when new powers shall preside over the destinies of the country, it would not be compromising their stability beforehand to leave behind us a pretext for questioning their origin, or for misrepresenting their legitimacy?

No doubt on the subject was possible; and without wishing to swerve for a single instant from the policy of order which I have always followed out, I have been obliged, much to my regret, to separate from a cabinet which possessed all my confidence, in order to choose another, which, equally composed of honorable men publicly known for their conservative sentiments, has moreover consented to admit the necessity of re-establishing universal suffrage on the broadest possible basis.

You will, therefore, have presented to you the draught of a law which restores the principle in all its fulness.

The project has no features which can offend this Assembly ; for, if I think it expedient to ask to-day for the withdrawal of the law of the 31st of May, I do not mean to deny the approbation which I gave at that time to the cabinet which claimed from the chief of the majority, whose work it was, the honor of presenting it.

If we remember the circumstances under which this law was presented, we shall not, I believe, refuse to allow that it was an act of policy, rather than an electoral law, that it was really and truly a measure to insure the public tranquillity. Whenever the majority shall propose to me energetic measures for the safety of the country, it may rely on my loyal and disinterested support. But even the best of such measures have but a limited time.

The law of the 31st of May has, in its application, even gone beyond the object intended to be attained. No one foresaw the suppression of three millions of electors, two-thirds of whom are peaceful inhabitants of the country. What has been the result ? Why, that this exclusion has served as a pretext to the anarchist party, who cloak their detestable designs by appearing to conquer back a right of which they had been despoiled. Too weak in numbers to take possession of society by their votes, they hope, under favor of the general emotion and the decline of the powers of the State, to kindle at several points of France, instantaneously, troubles which would be quelled, no doubt, but which should inevitably throw us into fresh complications.

Another serious objection is this : The constitution requires, for the validity of the election of a president by the people, at least two millions of suffrages ; and if this number is not made up, the right of election is conferred on the Assembly. The Constituent Assembly had therefore decided that, out of ten million voters inscribed on the lists, one-fifth was sufficient to render the election valid.

At the present time, the number of electors being reduced to seven millions, to require two millions is to invert the proportion ; that is to say, it is to demand one-third instead of one-fifth, and thus, in a certain eventuality, to take the election out of the hands of the people, and give it to the Assembly. It is, therefore, positively changing the condition of the eligibility of the president of the republic.

Lastly, I call your particular attention to another reason, which, perhaps, may prove decisive.

The re-establishment of universal suffrage on its principal basis furnishes an additional chance of obtaining the revision of the constitution. You have not forgotten why the adversaries of this revision refused last session to vote for it. They used this argument, which they knew how to render specious : "The Constitution," said they, "which is the work of an Assembly taking its rise in universal suffrage, cannot be modified by an Assembly issuing from a restricted suffrage." Whether this be a real motive, or only a pretext, it is expedient to set it aside, and be able to say to those who would bind the country down to an immutable constitution, "Behold universal suffrage re-established. The majority of the Assembly, supported by two millions of petitioners, by the greater number of the councils of arrondissement, and almost unanimously by the councils general, demands the revision of the fundamental compact. Have you less confidence than we in the expression of the popular will?"

The question, therefore, may be thus stated to all those who desire a pacific solution of the difficulties of the day : "The law of the 31st of May has its imperfections ; but even were it perfect, should it not, nevertheless, be repealed if it resists the revision of the Constitution, that manifest wish of the country?"

It is objected, I am aware, that on my part these proposals are inspired by personal interest. My conduct for the last three years ought to repel such an allegation. The welfare of the country, I repeat, will always be the sole moving

spring of my conduct. I believe it my duty to propose every means of conciliation, and to use every effort to bring about a pacific, regular, legal solution, whatever may be its issue.

Thus, then, gentlemen, the proposal I make to you is neither a piece of party tactics, nor an egotistical calculation, nor a sudden resolution; it is the result of serious meditation and of profound conviction. I do not pretend that this measure will banish all the difficulties of the situation. But to each day its own task.

To-day to re-establish universal suffrage is to deprive civil war of its flag, the opposition of its last argument. It is to furnish France with the possibility of giving itself institutions which may insure its tranquillity. It is to give the future powers of the state that moral force which can only exist so long as it reposes on a consecrated principle, and on an incontestable authority.

#### No. XV.

##### *Memoir of Louis Bonaparte, ex-King of Holland.*<sup>1</sup>

LOUIS, the third brother of Napoleon I., and supposed father of Napoleon III., was born at Ajaccio on the 2d of September, 1778. During the siege of Toulon, in the early part of 1793, Napoleon frequently visited Marseilles, for the purpose of hastening the preparations for the siege, and at the same time of seeing his family. In one of these visits he prevailed on his mother to send Louis, then little more than fourteen years of age, to the school at Châlons, to undergo the examination necessary to his entrance into the artillery; for which service he had always been intended.

On the recapture of Toulon, Napoleon, being appointed to survey the line of fortifications on the Mediterranean coast of France, took Louis with him, intending to place him on his staff with the rank of sub-lieutenant.

When, in 1794, Napoleon joined the army of Italy, then stationed at Nice, the representatives of the people wished to confer on Louis the rank of captain; but as he was little more than fifteen, the measure was objected to by his brother. Napoleon used to relate sundry anecdotes of Louis, which, while they evince the most ardent fraternal attachment, afford proofs of courage and coolness. The first time he was led into an engagement, Louis, far from betraying any astonishment, was anxious to serve as a rampart to his brother. This was before Saorgio, on the high road from Nice to Tenda. While the enemy were keeping up a brisk fire of artillery, Louis placed himself before Napoleon, as he proceeded along the outside of the intrenchments, for the purpose of examining them; and in this position he continued during the whole of the inspection.

On another occasion they happened to be together at a battery, upon which the enemy kept up a smart fire. As the breastworks were only three or four feet high, the garrison frequently stooped down to shelter themselves. Napoleon, observing that Louis, imitating his own example, remained immovable, asked him the reason: "I have heard you say," replied Louis, "that an artillery-officer should never fear cannon, it being our best weapon."

Louis was little more than seventeen when he a second time joined the army of Italy, then commanded by his brother; to whom, though he had only the rank of lieutenant, he was appointed aid-de-camp. At this early stage of his career, he was of an observant and silent character. "He felt," he says, "a vacuity of heart and a sentiment of deep regret, at seeing himself impelled into a career of troublesome ambition." He already sighed for retirement and a peaceful occupation. He displayed courage on several occasions, but only by fits; and the acquirement of a military reputation gave him no concern.

At Nice he met with an accident which had nearly cost him an eye. While returning from a mission at full gallop,

on a young and fiery horse, he was met by his brother aide-camp, Junot, on foot, who frightened the animal in order to try the skill of its rider. Louis fell, and the wound he received was so improperly treated that the scar remained till his death.

He and the brave Lannes, afterward Duke of Montebello were the first who, in May, 1796, passed the Po. At the taking of Pizzighitone, Louis entered the breach with Domartin, the general of artillery. He was present at the driving in of the gates of Pavia, and the reduction and partial pillage of that city. At this horrible spectacle he was greatly shocked, and became thenceforward still more cold and taciturn. He was present at the battle of Valeggio, after which the Mincio was forcibly passed, with the Austrian army in front. He presented to the Directory the colors taken at the battle of Castiglione, and had the rank of captain conferred on him as a mark of their affection.

He was also at the battles of Brenta, Coldiero, and Rivoli; and at the memorable one of Arcola, which lasted three days, he was exposed during the hottest period of the attack to imminent peril. The brave Lannes fell wounded by his side; and Napoleon's horse having sunk with him in a morass, Louis succeeded in getting hold of one of his brother's hands; but not being sufficiently strong, he was drawn along with him, and both must have perished, had not Marmont, with two subalterns, extricated them from their perilous situation. This took place on the first day. On the second Louis was charged with important orders from the general-in-chief to General Robert, and being the only person on horseback, he was marked out by the tirailleurs of the enemy, and exposed for a long time to their fire. On regaining his brother, Napoleon expressed a feeling of surprise and joy at seeing him: "I believed you dead," said he; and his death had been actually announced to him by some of the grenadiers.

Pending the negotiations in 1797, previous to the treaty of Campo Formio, Louis was sent to reconnoitre the ad-

vanced posts of the enemy. This important duty lasted eight days, and his conduct received the highest praise from his brother. On this inspection he first saw the young Bertrand, who then belonged to the engineers at Osappo. He soon appreciated his merit, and recommended him to his brother. This is the person who was afterward grand marshal, and accompanied Napoleon into exile.

When the expedition to Egypt was in contemplation, Louis was anxious to serve in it; but, for a personal reason, he was desirous of setting out later than the rest of the aids-de-camp. His sister Caroline was then at the celebrated boarding-school of Madame Campan, at St. Germain. Thither he frequently repaired, and became acquainted with a female friend of his sister, whose father had emigrated at the commencement of the Revolution. He felt a warm interest in her behalf, esteemed the qualities of her mind and heart, and thought her altogether the most beautiful young lady he had ever seen. Walking one evening with Casabianca, a naval officer and a friend of his brother, he could not conceal his sentiments, but confided them to that gentleman. Casabianca was alarmed. "Do you know," said he, "that a marriage of this description might be highly injurious to your brother, and make him an object of suspicion with the government?" On the following day, Napoleon sent for Louis, and desired him to set out instantly for Toulon. Instead of losing time in fruitless attempts to convince a lovesick youth of the folly of his passion, he procured from the minister of war an order for his immediate departure.

In May, 1798, Louis embarked with the expedition for Egypt. Being greatly fatigued with the voyage, he was permitted to remain at Alexandria, where he was an eyewitness of the ever-memorable battle of the Nile. On the blowing up of the French admiral's ship, L'Orient, "the whole horizon," he says, "seemed on fire; the earth shook, and the smoke which proceeded from the vessel ascended heavily in a mass, like an immense black balloon. It then brightened up,



and exhibited the objects of all descriptions which were precipitated on the scene of the battle. What a terrible moment of fear and desolation for the French who witnessed this awful catastrophe !”

While in Egypt, Louis wrote several letters to his friends in France. One to his brother Joseph, which was intercepted by the British cruisers and made public, breathes a tone of philanthropy very creditable to the youthful writer. “The Mamelukes,” he says, “have no idea of children’s play : they either kill or are killed. The Bedouins are an invincible people, inhabiting a burning desert, mounted on the fleetest horses in the world, and full of courage. They live, with their wives and children, in flying camps, which are never pitched two nights together in the same place. They are horrible savages, and yet they have some notion of gold ! A small quantity of it serves to excite their admiration. Yes, my dear brother, they love gold ; they pass their lives in extorting it from such Europeans as fall into their hands ; and for what purpose ? — for continuing the course of life which I have described, and for teaching it to their children. O, Jean Jacques ! why was it not thy fate to see those men whom thou callest ‘the men of Nature?’ thou wouldst sink with shame and startle with horror at the thought of having once admired them ! Oh ! how many misanthropes would be converted, if chance should conduct them into the midst of the deserts of Arabia !”

On setting out for Syria, Napoleon, yielding to the entreaties of his brother, consented to his return to France. Louis accordingly, on the 11th of May, 1799, took his departure from Egypt in a small gun-boat, carrying with him despatches for the Directory ; and after a voyage of two months, during which he escaped, as it were, by miracle, the Turkish, Russian, English, and even Portuguese vessels, he reached Porto Vecchio. On his way to Paris, he stopped at Sens, and was not a little surprised to find, at Madame de Bourrienne’s, the intercepted correspondence, seized by the English and

printed at London, containing his own letter to his brother Joseph, of which the above is an extract, as well as others, "the publication of which would," he observed, "on the return of the army to France, give birth to unpleasant scenes in more families than one."<sup>1</sup>

In December, 1799, on Napoleon's elevation to the consulship, Louis was appointed colonel of a regiment of dragoons, and sent to serve in Normandy, where the troubles had not entirely ceased. Peace soon followed; but it was thought expedient that four of the Chouan leaders should be tried by a court-martial, and Louis was called upon to preside. This, however, he obstinately refused, nor could entreaties or threats induce him to consent. He protested against the sentence of death passed upon these unfortunate persons, and during its execution not only confined himself to his quarters, as if it had been a day of mourning, but ordered his officers to do the same. His regiment was soon after recalled to Paris; and from this time he appears to have lost, in a great degree, the good-will of his brother.

It seems, however, to have been a favorite object with Napoleon, and more especially with Josephine, to effect a marriage between her daughter Hortense and Louis. The proposition was made to him in July, 1800, shortly after the return of the First Consul from the brilliant campaign of Marengo, and he then gave it a decided negative; "not," he says, "from any unfavorable opinion entertained of the character or morals of the young lady, who was the subject of general praise, but because he was afraid their characters were not suited to each other."

Not long after the proposition was renewed, but with no better success; and to escape further importunities, Louis made a tour of several months in Germany. He there met with a gracious reception from the King and Queen of Prussia, and from that time never ceased to express the highest esteem for that illustrious house. "And what an

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<sup>1</sup> De Bourrienne, tom. ii. p. 207.

*Quote*

iron heart," he gallantly observes, "must that man have had, who would not have been touched with the enchanting spectacle of a court at once military and polished, in which the most beautiful, most gracious, and most amiable of women enjoyed the love and affection of her subjects!"

On his return from this excursion, he was assailed with a fresh repetition of the proposal. An expedition was at that time organizing for Portugal, in which he contrived to have his regiment included, and thus obtained a new pretence for eluding the importunities of his over-kind relations, who, like certain parents and uncles on the stage, seemed obstinately bent upon making poor Louis happy against his will.

On passing through Mont-de-Marsan, in the department of Landes, he was received with demonstrations of joy, on account of his brother. Scarcely had he entered the hotel of the prefecture, when the prefect presented to him all the constituted authorities; at the head of whom was the venerable president of the tribunal, who had his speech ready prepared in his hand, and was intent on delivering it. The orator advanced, and with solemn voice began—"Young and valiant hero!" This was too much for Louis. He instantly stepped forward, and snatching, in a good-humored manner, the oration out of the hand of the spokesman, said: "M. le Président, this address is, I suppose, intended for my brother. I will take care to acquaint him with the kind sentiments you entertain towards him." This put an end to the harangue, as well as to the presentations.

Immediately after Louis's return from Portugal, in October, 1801, Josephine renewed with fresh spirit the matrimonial charge, and with better success than heretofore. One evening, when there was a ball at Malmaison, she took him aside, Napoleon joined the conference, and after a long conversation, Louis says, "they made him give his consent"—"on lui fit donner son consentement." The day of the nuptials was fixed, and on the 4th of January, 1802, the contract, the civil marriage, and the religious ceremony took

place at the First Consul's private residence in the Rue de la Victoire.

“Without connubial Juno's aid they wed:  
Nor Hymen nor the Graces bless the bed!”

“Never,” exclaims Louis, in a tone of anguish, “was there a more gloomy ceremony! Never had husband and wife a stronger presentiment of the horrors of a reluctant and ill-assorted union!” From this he dates the commencement of his unhappiness, his bodily and mental sufferings. It stamped on his whole existence a profound melancholy, a dejection, a drying of the heart, which, he adds, “nothing ever could, or ever will remedy.” As for Hortense, who had only left Madame Campan's boarding-school a few weeks before the wedding, a lady who was present at a ball given in honor of it by Madame de Montesson, states, that “every countenance beamed with satisfaction, save that of the bride, whose profound melancholy formed a sad contrast to the happiness which she might have been expected to evince: she seemed to shun her husband's very looks, lest he should read in hers the indifference she felt towards him.”

During the years 1802, 1803, and 1804, Louis was almost entirely with his regiment, or at the mineral baths. In 1804 he was appointed general of brigade; and at this period the death of the Duke d'Enghien took place. On learning the sad catastrophe, he repaired to Paris; but he was too late, and could only add his tears to those of Josephine, Hortense, and Caroline. Louis represents his brother as being, for several days, melancholy, absent, and slovenly; and declares that he must have been drawn into the adoption of the fatal measure in a hasty and perfidious manner.

On Napoleon being crowned Emperor, Louis was made general of division and counsellor of state; and in 1805, during his brother's absence in Germany, he received the command of the garrison of Paris; in which situation he displayed a zeal and activity that could scarcely have been expected from him.

We now arrive at the period when Louis was elevated to the throne of Holland. The first intimation he had of Napoleon's intention was conveyed to him during the campaign of Austerlitz. At that time Louis commanded a corps of troops stationed in Holland, to protect the northern portion of the empire against a diversion on the part of Prussia; and his conduct while there was praised by Napoleon in one of the bulletins of the grand army. At the close of the campaign, Louis sent back most of the troops to Paris, and went to meet the Emperor at Strasburg. He was received with coldness, and reprimanded for his hasty departure from Holland. Louis replied, that the rumors which were in circulation in Holland, with respect to certain changes in the government of that country, had hastened his departure, and were of a nature to displease that estimable nation. Napoleon gave him to understand that they were not unfounded, and that he was to be created king of Holland.

Thinking he should be able to find pretexts for declining an honor for which he was not ambitious, Louis gave himself little uneasiness about it. However, in the spring of 1806, there arrived at Paris from Holland a deputation of five ambassadors, all men of rank and consequence; and after four months of negotiation, a treaty was concluded, by which the Dutch republic was transformed into a monarchy. Louis was not invited to their sittings, and received no official intimation that his personal interest was at all connected with them; but at length, the ambassadors made him acquainted with what had been going on, and assured him that their nation gave him their preference for king. He did what he could to avoid expatriation, but was insultingly told by his brother, that he need not be frightened before he was hurt; and on every thing being matured, Napoleon informed him that he was to be king of Holland, and that if he had not hitherto been consulted, it was because it was the duty of a subject to obey.

Louis still held out. He pleaded the delicacy of his con-

stitution, and the unfavourableness of the climate. "Better to die a king than live a prince," was the unbrotherly reply;<sup>1</sup> and in a day or two after, Talleyrand waited on him at St. Leu, and read aloud to him and Hortense the treaty and constitution which had just been concluded. On being asked whether he approved of them, he answered, that not having been in the secret, he could not form an opinion at a single reading, but that he would endeavor to do his best. This took place on the 3d of June, 1806. On the 5th, Louis and his wife were proclaimed king and queen of Holland.

Louis now gave himself up with enthusiasm to the hope of being useful to two millions of men, and resolved to devote himself to their happiness. He remained a week at St. Leu, and during that time endeavored to gain from the deputation a general notion of the state of the country over which he was about to rule. Finding its treasury empty, and that France owed it three millions of florins (250,000*l.*), lent to the French governors of the colonies in the East Indies, he demanded of the Emperor the repayment of it, but without success. All the money he carried with him into Holland was seven hundred thousand francs, not 30,000*l.*, the arrears of his annual allowance from the state, and which belonged to him personally.

Louis and his family left Paris on the 15th of June. On approaching the Dutch frontiers he changed his cockade; not, he says, "without great pain, and shedding sincere tears." He arrived on the 18th at the Hague, and his first care was to form a ministry. He inquired into the integrity and merit of individuals, and on these he founded his confidence. To the several addresses presented to him, he replied: "that from the moment he set foot on the soil, he had become a Dutchman." He promised to protect justice, as he would protect commerce, by throwing the access to it open, and removing every thing that might impede it.

<sup>1</sup> De Bourrienne, tom. viii. p. 126.

*Prinz Bernhard*

“With me,” he said, “there shall be no different religions—no different parties; merit and services shall form the sole ground of distinction.”

The necessities of his treasury demanding immediate attention, he despatched an individual to Paris, to inform his brother that unless he liquidated the debt due to Holland, took the French troops into his own pay, and lessened the naval force, he would instantly abdicate; meantime, without waiting for an answer, he gave directions for such reductions as it was in his power to make. He also represented to Napoleon, that the suppression of all commerce and navigation, which was merely a severe loss for France, was the same thing as depriving Holland of its very soil.

He soon perceived that the government of Holland must found its chief support on public opinion. He set about drawing up in silence the plan of a Constitution, of the most simple description, alike suited to the taste and the habits of his subjects; and he took steps for obtaining a uniform civil and criminal code, which should unite the principles of justice with those of humanity. He also appointed two committees, composed of the ablest professors and men of letters, to draw up a uniform system of weights and measures; and though the good he thus intended was not attained during his reign, it has since been carried into complete effect by the present sovereign of the Netherlands. Besides these, Louis projected sundry ameliorations connected with the health of his subjects and the salubrity of his country. Himself a victim, ever since the age of two-and-twenty, to a slow and extraordinary disease, he had often had occasion to direct his attention to this important object. He enlarged the public libraries, encouraged the fine arts, by distributing prizes and sending pupils to Paris and Rome, founded a General Institution of Arts and Sciences, and created the order of Union and Merit, selecting for its device the Dutch maxim: “Doe wel en zie niet om;”—“Do what you ought; happen what may.”

In January, 1807, a shock like that of an earthquake was felt at the Hague, and a light in the horizon announced a terrible fire, in the direction of Leyden. Louis happened to be on his way thither, when he was informed that a vessel laden with gunpowder had blown up in the centre of the city. On his arrival, he was horrorstruck at the spectacle that presented itself. Eight hundred houses had been levelled with the ground; and with their fall, numerous families, while enjoying the repast of dinner, were precipitated into eternity—fathers, mothers, children, and domestics, all were hurried to a promiscuous grave. Every window in the place was smashed to atoms, and thus the bread, flour, and other necessaries of life were rendered dangerous and useless, by the showers of powdered glass that fell in all directions.

Attended by the magistrates, Louis traversed the scene of desolation. He ascended the ruins, mixed with the laborers, visited the wounded, promised a reward to every one who succeeded in rescuing a fellow-creature from beneath the rubbish, and did not quit the spot till daybreak of the following morning. He sent off to the principal towns for succors of all kinds, and ordered his palace in the Wood, between Leyden and the Hague, to be thrown open to those respectable families whom the accident had left houseless. On afterward receiving the thanks of the magistrates, he returned a most benignant answer. "The dead," said he, "I cannot restore to you; that is above human power; but all that I can I will do for your city." Louis kept his word. He proposed to the legislative body the measures necessary to its restoration; directed a general subscription to be set on foot, which was so productive, that the inhabitants were indemnified for their pecuniary losses; and decreed that Leyden should become the seat of the Royal University.

Again, in 1809, when a sudden inundation spread desolation over several districts, Louis was on the spot, performing the same beneficent offices. He traversed the whole of it during two days and a night, visited every village, consoled



and encouraged the inhabitants, and promptly rewarded those who most exposed themselves to danger.

At the close of 1806, the famous Berlin decree was enacted, prohibiting all intercourse with England, and Louis was required to enforce it in Holland. He could not avoid taking some analogous steps, but he would not re-enact the decree. On complaints being made, that a contraband traffic was carrying on, Louis coolly replied; "Empêchez donc la peau de transpirer?"—"You might as well forbid the skin to perspire!" At another time, while he was standing on one of the quays, with some French courtiers, a Swedish vessel was seen coming up, with her flags flying. The circumstance being pointed out to him, he replied coolly, that he saw nothing but a merchant ship, and turned his back on the officious informer.

After the conquest of Prussia, he sent a deputation to his brother at Berlin to congratulate him on the achievement; but instead of meeting with a gracious reception, Napoleon loaded them and their master with the grossest insults, and shortly after compelled Louis to concede several provinces, including Flushing.

About this time, Napoleon, who was making arrangements for taking possession of Spain, conceived the design of transferring Louis to the throne of that country. He accordingly addressed a letter to him, in March, 1808, in which he opened his plan, intimating, among other things, that the climate of Holland was unfavorable to his health. "Tell me categorically," he said, "if I make you king of Spain, will you agree to it? answer me—*yes*, or *no*." The surprise of Louis, on receiving so impolitic, unjust, and shameful a proposition, was only equalled by his indignation:—"I am not the governor of a province," he said: "for a king there is no promotion but to heaven; they are all equal: with what face can I demand an oath of fidelity from another people, if I am unfaithful to that which I have taken to the Dutch?" His

answer was a direct refusal; and the throne of Spain was given to Joseph.

What the feelings of Louis at this time were, with reference to his brother, may be collected from the following anecdote. He was one day conversing with the Russian minister, Prince Dolgorouki, on the possibility of enforcing the decree against commerce in Holland. "We live on hope," said Louis, "and by expedients, as Heaven permits" — "comme le Ciel le permet," The ambassador, in allusion to the word "heaven," and wishing to discover whether the king had authorized any relaxation of his prohibitory measures, quoted, with a smile, the line from *Tartuffe* :

"Il est avec le ciel des accommodemens." <sup>1</sup>

"Oui, monsieur," said Louis, "mais il n'en est pas avec l'enfer," <sup>2</sup> and changed the conversation.

The relations between France and Holland continued in this state until the peace with Austria, in 1809; when Napoleon would frequently say to his officers at Schoënbrunn. "We have nothing to do now but to march against Spain and Holland." In speaking of his brother, he would exclaim, "Louis is no longer French; he is rather the brother and ally of King George." In this state of things, Louis was advised to pay Napoleon a visit, and endeavor to induce him to change his determination. He reached Paris in December, but had little reason to be satisfied with the success of his journey. At their first interview, the brothers had a warm dispute on the affairs of Holland. Advantage, however, was taken of his presence to make an overture to the British ministry for the repeal of the orders in council, and Louis was given to understand, that if those orders were not revoked, Holland would be united to the French empire. The British

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<sup>1</sup> "There is such a thing as coming to a compromise with heaven."

<sup>2</sup> "Yes, sir, but not with hell."

government declined the overture; and Louis, pressed in every way, was induced to sign a treaty, providing for the introduction of a body of French troops into Holland, to co-operate in enforcing the continental system.

Louis returned to Holland in April, 1810. In submitting to the humiliating conditions imposed on him, he seems to have intended to put Napoleon as much as possible in the wrong, that he might, in the end, appeal to the spirit of the people for the purpose of making an active resistance; and when, on the 29th of June, the French troops were about to establish their head-quarters in Amsterdam, he had come to the determination to place the country in a posture of defence by cutting the dikes; but on communicating this determination to his ministers, all gave their opinion against a defence. "This is enough," said Louis; "this determines me. I will drive the emperor to the wall, and compel him to avow, in the face of all Europe, the secret of his policy towards Holland. I will put my son in my place. If the complaints against me be well founded, he will acknowledge the boy. If, on the contrary, he avails himself of my abdication to seize upon Holland, it will prove that all his accusations were merely attempts to pick a quarrel."

He accordingly, on the 1st of July, abdicated in favor of his son. The act of abdication was, however, declared a nullity. Napoleon sent an aid-de-camp for the minor, and assigned him a dwelling in the park of St. Cloud; and Holland was, in a fortnight after, formally united to the French empire. One who was with the emperor when he received the news of Louis's abdication states, that he never saw him so much struck with astonishment. He remained silent for a few minutes, and after a kind of momentary stupor, suddenly appeared to be greatly agitated. "Was it possible," he exclaimed, "to suspect conduct so mischievous from the brother most indebted to me? When I was a mere lieutenant of artillery, I brought him up with the scanty means afforded

me: I divided my bread with him; and this is the return he makes me!"<sup>1</sup>

Louis took his departure from Haarlem in the strictest incognito, proceeding to the baths of Tœplitz, in Bohemia. He then retired to Gratz, in Styria, taking the title of Count de St. Leu, a small estate he possessed near Paris. He left with his son the revenues of the month of June, taking with him only ten thousand florins, to defray the expenses of the journey, and his diamond decorations. By a decree of the French senate, an apanage of two million francs (80,000*l.*) was settled on him and his family; but as he considered the decree calculated to injure him in the esteem of the Dutch, he published a protest, expressive of his determination to refuse it.

At Gratz Louis lived a retired life, endeavoring to re-establish his health. On Napoleon's first reverse, and again after the battle of Leipsic, he made an attempt to recover the possession of his lost crown, and even thought of returning to Holland by way of Paris; but he was not permitted to enter that city. He therefore retraced his steps to Switzerland, and on arriving there found a letter from his brother, in which Napoleon admitted, that he would rather that Holland should return into the government of the Prince of Orange than to that of his brother. Louis next made a direct address to the magistrates of Amsterdam, but the Dutch paid no attention to his letter, and conferred the sovereign power on the heir of their ancient stadtholders.

Being now released from all obligations to his former subjects, Louis wished to retire to St. Leu for the remainder of his life. He reached Paris on the 1st of January, 1814; but Napoleon at first not only refused to see him, but ordered him to remove to the distance of forty leagues from Paris; however, through the mediation of Maria Louisa, a meeting took place, which passed very coldly. He remained at or

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<sup>1</sup> Mémoires du Duc de Rovigo.

near Paris till the 30th of March, when he attended the empress to Blois; and after his brother's abdication, he retired, with the pope's permission, to Rome; where he has ever since enjoyed that repose which he so much loves, and so well deserves.

In 1808 Louis gave to the world a sentimental romance, called "Marie, ou les Peines de l'Amour," of which a second edition appeared in 1814, under the more attractive title of "Marie, ou les Hollandaises."

His treatise entitled "Documens Historiques, et Reflexions sur le Gouvernement de la Hollande," met with a better fate. Besides the English, Italian, and German translations, four separate ones have been made into Dutch. It is a work of no literary pretensions, being merely an unpresuming account of his administration in Holland. It appears clear from it, that he ascended the throne with unfeigned reluctance,—under an influence amounting to little less than absolute duress,—and, at the same time, with a settled determination not to be made an instrument of oppression. He certainly evinced some feebleness of mind, and a kind of willing deception, in imagining that he could carry this system into effect; but these are mere blemishes in an honorable and virtuous character. He found his reward in the respect and affection of his subjects, and his name continues to be mentioned among them with honor and regret.

He has been blamed by the Duke of Rovigo and others for deserting a nation which did ample justice to his qualities, and had given proofs of fidelity and obedience to his service; but De Bourrienne, on the other hand, maintains, that he could not have submitted to his brother's exorbitant demands without inducing the entire ruin of Holland.<sup>1</sup> If Louis did not always effect the best that could possibly be done, it was, at least, his constant aim to do so; his favorite maxim being the motto of his order—"Doe wel en zie niet om."

The following short anecdotes will show the spirit of mild-

<sup>1</sup> De Bourrienne, tom. viii. p. 255.

ness by which his government was actuated. One of the persons about him expressed his regret that Louis had not punished with severity a sort of revolt which took place at Rotterdam. "It should have finished," said the person, "by hanging up some fifty of the ringleaders." "I chose rather to put an end to it by a letter," answered Louis with a smile. In the same spirit, he said to the Duke de Cazes, then his private secretary, "For my part, I cannot see why bayonets should be employed to quell every petty tumult in a playhouse. To put an end to them, artificial shower-baths should be placed in the ceiling over the pit, to give it a sprinkling when necessary. This would be far more suitable; for there is a great deal of squandering in theatrical dress, and to punish them as criminals is to cover a city with arrows." This amiable and unambitious man died at Florence, in January, 1846.

## NO. XVI.

### *Mother of Hortense Beauharnois, Ex-queen of Holland.*<sup>1</sup>

MADAME FANNY DE BEAUHARNOIS, the mother of Napoleon III., was born at Paris on the 10th of April, 1783, at a period when the French nobility was still resplendent with that prosperity which was the reward of service done to the State, in arms or magistracy. Paris had not yet learned to gaze enviously upon this elevated class, then as pre-eminent by the elegance of its manners, as by the enjoyment of privileges to which it attached little importance. Every young girl of family could then, not perhaps aspire openly to the throne, but at least flatter herself with the belief of rising to it without difficulty. Madame de Maintenon had shown that royal blood was not essential to the easy exercise of royal power.

The history of childhood is rather the story of the family than of the infant. Hortense gave promise of wit, grace and

<sup>1</sup> From the French of Count de la Garde.



ENG? BY JOHN SARTAIN.

HORTENSE.





amiability, but the fond anticipations of maternal partiality were not realized until after a series of distressing calamities, of which some account may not be inappropriate.

Her father, the Vicomte de Beauharnois, was a younger son of a noble and wealthy family of Martinique. He entered the army at an early age, and obtained distinction in several affairs as a major in the forces under Rochambeau, then fighting for the cause of American freedom. Upon his return to France, without disgracing the creed of liberty by any unworthy action, he adhered to the principles he had defended, which perhaps had been prematurely developed by his American associations. He espoused with enthusiasm the doctrines of the revolution, and became a zealous advocate of the reform of abuses, and of a well regulated liberty.

Rather a philosopher than a courtier, Beauharnois hailed with joy the dawn of that liberty in France, which he had seen resplendent in America. In 1789 he was deputed to the States-General by the noblesse of Blois, and was one of the first of his order who voted with the third estate. In the memorable nocturnal sitting of the 4th of August, he moved and carried the abolition of privileges, equal penalties for all classes of citizens, and universal eligibility to office. After having been secretary of the constituent assembly, he was appointed on the different military committees, from which he made several remarkable reports, on the organization of the National Guard; the maintenance of discipline in the army; and the means of protecting the country from military usurpation. One of his most constant and active opponents was his brother, the Marquis de Beauharnois, who was also a member of the assembly, but belonged to the *Coté droit*.

It is related by Mercier, in his Picture of Paris, that the vicomte took a prominent part in the preparations for the festival of the federation, celebrated in the Champ de Mars, on the 14th of July, 1790. He figured in the procession, harnessed to the same car with the Abbé Sieyès.

Sincerely devoted to the true interests of his country, he

warned the nobles that the time had come, when they must declare themselves; that as yet, nothing was done for the people, who had many just causes of complaint, and that prudence alone could now avert bloodshed and save Louis XVI.

Beauharnois was president of the National Assembly at the time of the king's flight, on the 21st of June, 1791. He displayed the true firmness of antiquity in announcing to the deputies this disastrous intelligence. "Gentlemen," said he, on taking the chair, "the king set out last night: let us proceed to the order of the day." His dignity and presence of mind extorted admiration even from his enemies, and procured his re-election to the presidency on the ensuing 31st of July. At the close of the session, he joined the army of the north, with the rank of adjutant-general. His behavior at the rout of Mons, April 29th, 1792, was highly commended by Biron, then general-in-chief; and in the beginning of August, the command of the camp at Soissons was entrusted to him by General Custine. After the memorable 10th of August, the army commissioners of the legislative assembly distinguished him as one of the generals who still continued in the service — faithful to their honor and their country. Two months afterwards he addressed a proclamation to the army of the Rhine, and in December his conduct was again made the theme of praise by Custine, and Saxe the minister of war.

On the 29th of May, 1793, he was proclaimed commander-in-chief of the army of the Rhine, and shortly afterwards he declined the ministry of war. The nobles were at this period wholly excluded from military employment, and Beauharnois, with a feeling of honorable pride, placed his resignation in the hands of the deputies of the convention. This they at first refused, but it was finally accepted on the 21st of August, with the usual order to retire to the distance of twenty leagues from the capital. Leaving General Landremont in command of the army, he took up his residence at the estate of Beauharnois, near La Ferté Imbaut (Loir et Cher), which had been erected into a marquisate for his father. He had pre-

viously been the subject of several denunciations, which were answered in his "Observations on the Proscription of the Nobles," and had now scarcely reached his new abode before fresh accusations assailed him, to which he replied with the dignity of conscious innocence. All was in vain; he was arrested and imprisoned in Paris.

The court, as if impelled by an irresistible fatality, had afforded to republican insurrection the pretext of warlike invasion and foreign alliance. The Marquis de Beauharnois, brother of the vicomte, was one of those imprudent adherents of monarchy, who, by their blind devotion to their party, mainly contributed to the overflow of a torrent which no barrier could withstand. Wherever a government is exposed to sudden change, and the interests of relationship are mingled with political passions, it commonly happens that members of the same family espouse opposite parties. Thus in Scotland, during the last century, nothing was more frequent than to see one nobleman a zealous Jacobite, while his son or brother remained a faithful adherent of the house of Brunswick. In every event of the contest, the family possessions were secured; for natural feeling afforded an excellent pretext for the protection or pardon of the defeated. But the political opposition of the two Beauharnois was the result of no selfish calculation. Each was firmly convinced of the rectitude of his principles, and each underwent the severest punishment of consistency—the ingratitude of his party. The vicomte, after having shone with distinction in the constituent assembly, and commanded with honor the armies of the republic, perished on the scaffold on the 23d of July, in the thirty-fourth year of his age; bequeathing to his children a rich heritage of glory, worthy of the proud motto of their house—"SERVE NO FURTHER." In 1815, it was only by the heroic devotion of Madame Lavallette, that her husband, the son-in-law of the marquis, was rescued from a similar fate.

The Vicomte de Beauharnois married in Martinique Josephine Rose Tascher de la Pagerie; a creole lady of distin-

guished birth. Previous to her marriage, her attention was one day attracted by a group of slaves, collected around an old negro sybil, who was telling their fortunes. Josephine stopped; and the hag no sooner perceived her new auditor, than, uttering a loud shriek, she seized her hand in the utmost agitation. "You must certainly discover something very striking in my appearance," said Josephine: "Well—shall my fortune be good or evil?" "Both!" "I must confess, my good woman, that your predictions are quite vague enough to run no risk of contradiction." The old woman raised her eyes with a singular expression. "Come, come," pursued Josephine, whose curiosity now began to be excited, "let me know what is to be read in the story of the future!" "In the future—ah! you will not believe me if I tell." "Oh, yes! I promise you full credence, my good mother; tell me what I have to hope or fear." "If you insist on it—listen! You will soon marry—your union will be unhappy—you will be left a widow. Then you will become queen of France; you will have mighty armies at your feet; but you will die in a revolution." On finishing this extraordinary prediction the old woman retreated with as much activity as her age permitted.

Josephine prohibited her slaves from rallying the sybil on her "ridiculous prophecy." She made use of the apparent absurdity of the promise to prove to the young negresses her slender belief in its fulfilment, and it was treated merely as a subject for family merriment. In fact, there was little reason to imagine that a young West Indian girl could by any revolution be seated on the first throne in the world. Life and death in her native island, seemed the unchangeable destiny of Mademoiselle Tascher. She became the wife of the Vicomte de Beauharnois, and in 1780, gave birth to a son, afterwards Prince Eugene, viceroy of Italy. He was three years older than his sister Hortense.

The cause of American emancipation was too popular in France, not to ensure an enthusiastic reception to the return-

ing officers who had aided it with their courage. To this recommendation, Beauharnois added a prepossessing exterior, agreeable accomplishments, and polished manners. The society of one so eminently qualified to shine was everywhere courted; and with the natural facility of youth, he gave himself up unreservedly to the seductions of the great world. Josephine, thus deserted by the man of her choice, resolved to seek consolation in the place of her birth, and commiseration in the sympathy of her family. She sailed for Martinique in 1787.

Eugene remained with his father: his sister, then only three years old, accompanied her mother across the seas. The vessel in which Madame Beauharnois had embarked, encountered a violent storm, and Hortense thus commenced a severe apprenticeship to the dangers and misfortunes which afterwards so nearly balanced the glory of her brilliant career. In the convulsion of the elements, she might then have seen a fit emblem of that tempest of human passion of which her future destiny had marked her for the sport.

It is beneath the burning sky of the Antilles that the influence of the vertical sun is most strikingly felt, rendering the imagination more ardent, and communicating to the frame the captivating languor so characteristic of the creoles. Hortense experienced its full effects. Her infancy resembled that of the interesting Virginia, so well described by St. Pierre in the episode to the *Études de la Nature*, a work which, for perfection of detail and splendor of coloring, seems to defy imitation. Hortense, compassionate and tender-hearted as Virginia herself, was deeply shocked by the miseries of slavery, which, in her childish charity, she strove to alleviate. Like her also, the constant object of maternal solicitude, she imbibed from the cares, the endearments and the example of Josephine, the witching grace and captivating sensibility, which afterwards won every heart and rivetted unwavering affection. Thus she, who was one day to rule over subjects, was first the mistress of slaves; but Hortense

was ever humane and compassionate, though accustomed from her infancy to dominion. It is only when the hand of woman tempers the rigor of power, when her voice softens the evils of misgovernment, that the unfortunate forget the burthen of their chains, and contented with the illusion of liberty, sigh no longer for its lost reality.

The effects of the French revolution in the colonies were proportioned to the violent passions of the inhabitants of sultry regions, and the deep hatred excited in the minds of the slaves by the tyranny of their masters. The tremendous explosion of St. Domingo reverberated through the Antilles. The existence of Hortense and her mother was frequently menaced by conflagration and the sword; for the blacks persecuted an entire race, and not individuals. Humanity, mildness, and benevolence were already associated with the name of Josephine, inspiring everywhere affection and respect. The simple annunciation, "I am Madame de Beauharnois—this is my daughter," was sufficient to disarm the violence of the assassins, and she was fortunately enabled to reach a seaport and embark for France. Evils of still greater magnitude awaited her return, and made a deep impression on the mind of Hortense. She soon learned that there is but a single step from power to servitude, from happiness to misfortune. This first lesson of adversity was not given in vain; and, notwithstanding its severity, it was neither the last nor the least painful she was destined to endure.

The ardent attachment of the vicomte to the principles of the revolution had never cooled for an instant, but a new and more determined faction had overthrown all its rivals, and was now in full possession of power. Beauharnois was imprisoned; for the advocates of moderation and the partisans of ancient privileges were equally obnoxious to gloomy fanaticism. His wife, losing all remembrance of former wrongs, was only sensible of his misfortunes. To love and believe, to suffer and forgive—such is female life. She used every exertion to relieve his situation. Inconstancy had

wounded her feelings, but she had never ceased to love her husband; and her truth was displayed, when, without advantage to him, it could only involve her in his fate. Beauharnois was much moved by this generous conduct, and in several affecting letters, written when no hope remained of escaping the scaffold, he warmly commended his children to her care.

Josephine, becoming in her turn an object of suspicion, was also confined. Up to this time she had scarcely bestowed a thought upon the fortune-teller of Martinique; but now, by a common inconsistency of human nature, the prediction recurred to her remembrance amid the gloom of a prison. Her mind became accustomed to dwell upon its promises, and she ended by a firm belief in its easy accomplishment.

One morning the jailor entered the cell, which she occupied in common with the Duchess of Aiguillon, afterwards Madame Louis de Girardin,) and two other ladies, and announced abruptly, that he came to remove her bed, which was wanted for another prisoner. "Of course," said Madame D'Aiguillon, with vivacity, "Madame de Beauharnois is to be provided with a better?" The keeper answered savagely, "There will be little need of that, as she is to go at once to the Conciergerie, and thence to the guillotine." This cruel warning drew loud shrieks from her companions in misfortune, but Josephine attempted the task of consolation. At length she begged them earnestly to calm all their fears, as she was assured, not only of present safety, but of living and reigning the queen of France. "It is a pity that you don't appoint your attendants," cried Madame D'Aiguillon, angrily. "Ah! that is very true—I had forgotten. Well, my dear, you shall be one of my ladies of honor: come—you have my promise." At these words her companions burst into tears; for they could account for the ill-timed pleasantry only by supposing that she had lost her senses.

Madame D'Aiguillon was much overcome. Josephine led her towards a window, which she threw open to give her air. A woman of ordinary appearance was noticed below, who

seemed to be making some extraordinary signals. She shook her dress (*robe*) violently, a gesture which at first was inexplicable. At length Josephine cried out "Robe," the woman nodded, and immediately seizing a pebble (*pierre*) recommenced her gestures. Josephine again cried "Pierre," and the woman, apparently much gratified, again expressed assent. Then placing her gown and the pebble together, she represented the motion of cutting a throat, dancing and clapping her hands at the same time, with great glee. It would be impossible to describe the joy with which the captives ventured to hope that the death of *Robespierre* was thus announced to them.

While they were still divided between hope and fear, a disturbance in the gallery attracted their attention, and they presently distinguished the rough voice of their turnkey, who was kicking his dog and crying out, "Get along, you damned Robespierre!" This energetic expression assured our ladies that there was little to apprehend, and that France was saved. In fact, a short time afterwards, their companions in misfortune burst into the cell to communicate the tidings of the great events of the 9th Thermidor. "Well," said Josephine, as her bed was returned, "you see I am not destined to be guillotined. I shall certainly be queen of France."

We may pardon the youthful Hortense for anticipating the future completion of a prophecy, which she thus saw partially accomplished, in the preservation of her mother when destruction had appeared inevitable. The superior intelligence of Josephine could not have placed its firm reliance on such a fallacy; though reason and imagination have but slender connection in the mind of a creole. Perhaps she may have entertained hope of its fulfilment, at the very time that she treated the prediction with the greatest ridicule. It is in this way that we may explain an intimacy (which was, however, much exaggerated) with a fortune-teller, who at least has evinced a constant and grateful remembrance of the favors received.



But what was the impression made upon the mind of Hortense by the promise of so brilliant a future? More than once she made it the foundation of those pleasing dreams, which are courted with equal eagerness by childhood, the flower of life, and age itself. Happier, doubtless, would she have been, had destiny reserved for her a fortune less brilliant or less unequal; and if she had felt in the morning of her years all the truth of the wise motto she afterwards adopted—"Little known, little troubled" (*peu connu, peu troublée*).<sup>1</sup>

After her liberation, Josephine became extremely intimate with Madame Tallien,<sup>2</sup> at whose house she met Barras. To

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<sup>1</sup> "On reaching home, I found your new *romance*. I think it very pretty; and although accustomed to agreeable things from you, I am not the less struck with your facility in composing good verses. Whoever told you my motto, has changed it a little. '*Less known, less troubled,*' is the one I chose long ago, because it is so well suited to a woman. In prosperous days, my friends used to add, '*More known, more loved;*' they knew my only ambition, and wished to make me think that I really possessed what I most desired. Perhaps they think no more about it now, so that my first motto is, after all, the only one that befits me.

"So, you have been exhibiting my letters! Were we better acquainted, we should certainly fall out, but you ought to be excused for this fault, as you had mistaken my motto. I had seriously resolved not to write you another line. I neither choose to be praised for what I write, nor to be read by those to whom I have never written. My mind changed in the course of the excursion, for they told me that all the world had not dealt kindly by you, and I do not choose to resemble all the world: on the contrary, the ill will of others only increases my interest in your behalf. I shall begin a collection of mottoes for new *romances*, without the least fear of imposing on your good nature: I see you have a great deal, and I am pleased to tell you how much you have obliged me."—*Letter from Hortense.*

<sup>2</sup> Mademoiselle Tabarus, the daughter of a Spanish banker, and one of the most beautiful women of her day, married Tallien to save her father's life from the condemnation of a revolutionary tribunal. On the 8th Fructidor, several deputies, included in the proscription list of Robespierre, agreed to attack him in the convention. Tallien, at whose house they had assembled, seeing them falter in their resolution,

the patronage of the latter, who became shortly afterwards the head of the directory, she was indebted for the restoration of a part of her fortune.

During the imprisonment of Hortense's parents one of Josephine's friends, the Princess of Hohenzollern, was struck with compassion for the destitute condition of the two young Beauharnais. As her residence in Paris was rendered dangerous by proscription, she proposed to carry them with her, into Germany. This design was found impracticable: the princess set out alone, and the unfortunate children remained in Paris, with no other protection than that of an old nurse. The cares of education could be little attended to, when even the means of existence were of difficult attainment. The labors of the nurse were soon found insufficient for the maintenance of three persons; but Hortense, though still very young, evinced that energy of character, which, in after life, was so useful in enabling her to support adversity. Both she and her brother determined to labor for their common livelihood. Eugene hired himself to a joiner, and Hortense went to a mantuamaker's. Her patience under every privation, showed how deeply rooted were those principles of perseverance and resignation, which had been so sedulously and successfully inculcated by her excellent mother.

The liberation of Josephine was the means of restoring her daughter to comfort and to her studies. She was placed at a boarding-school at St. Germain; which, though but recently opened, had already acquired a well-deserved reputation. The sense, talent, and purity of principle of Madame Campan,

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addressed them thus: 'Cowards! since you hesitate to deliver France from a monster, I am determined that you shall never live to witness the destruction of your country. I go this instant to denounce your treason.' The deputies were electrified; resolution was restored, and France was saved. The next day, Robespierre, condemned as soon as accused, perished by the guillotine. Madame Tallien is now married to the Prince of Chimay

the head of the establishment, were sufficient to ensure its complete success.<sup>1</sup>

The conspicuous services rendered by Madame Campan, under the empire, in the field of education, have created for her the most solid claims to public esteem. She possessed every requisite for forming the mind, the heart, and the manners of youth. On the last, she could bestow the polished urbanity of the old court, where her superior talents and knowledge had obtained honorable notice. At the age of fifteen, she had been appointed reader to the daughter of Louis XV.; and Marie Antoinette shortly afterwards attached her more immediately to her own person, by promoting a marriage with her private secretary. Ruined like so many others, by the revolution, she determined, after the 9th Thermidor, to turn her talents to account by opening a boarding-school. In a short time, the reputation of St. Germain rivalled the ancient renown of the establishment of St. Cyr, founded by Madame de Maintenon. Every distinguished personage of the day was sure to have a relative under the care of Madame Campan, and some of her scholars afterwards rose to royalty. Even the amusements of St. Germain yielded in nothing to those of St. Cyr; for though the former could boast no Racine as its religious laureate, yet the young and gifted pupils alternately performed his *Esther* and *Athalie*—the great master-pieces of the French drama. If they were not honored by the presence of Louis le Grand, their audience was composed of that crowd of young soldiers who already gave lustre to the arms of France, and their judge was he whose name was but another name for victory,

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<sup>1</sup> After the battle of Austerlitz, Madame Campan was appointed by Napoleon to superintend the school at Ecoen, where she remained until its suppression at the restoration of the Bourbons. She then retired to Nantes, where she died on the 16th of March, 1822. In her last moments, she displayed the calmness of a sage, and the pious hope of a sincere Christian.

and whose exertions promised the restoration of its depressed arts to his suffering country.

Among the companions of Hortense at Madame Campan's, were her cousin Stephanie, afterwards Grand Dutchess of Baden—Caroline Bonaparte, the future Queen of Naples, and several others, both relatives and connections by her mother's second marriage. But in forming one of those friendships of childhood, which become almost a part of our nature and seldom end but with life, Hortense was guided neither by the ties of blood, nor the pride of rank. The person to whom she became most attached was not a relation, nor was she destined to royalty. A niece of Madame Campan—Adèle Auguié, afterwards Madame de Broc—became her constant and faithful attendant. She followed Hortense on her departure from St. Germain, and remained with her until their friendship was severed by death.

Notwithstanding the apparent equality of all the boarders, it was almost impossible to prevent the relatives of him who ruled France and dictated to Europe, from being spoiled by their companions and their mistress. At the same time, the care bestowed by Madame Campan on the education of Hortense, was far from being lost. This sagacious instructress delighted to repeat that "talents were the wealth of the rich and the ornament of the poor." Her pupil—besides acquiring the general branches of education—excelled in all the agreeable accomplishments, and the success of her debut in society fully justified the truth of the favorite maxim. The following valuable letter shows how completely Josephine had retained in the midst of grandeur, her native modesty, simplicity and justness of principle.

*To Madame de Campan—St. Germain.*

"In returning you my niece, my dear Madame Campan, I send you both thanks and reproof—thanks, for the brilliant education you have given her, and reproof for the faults which your acuteness must have noticed, but which your indulgence

has passed over. She is good tempered, but cold; well informed, but disdainful; lively, but deficient in judgment. She pleases nobody and it gives her no pain. She fancies the renown of her uncle and the gallantry of her father are everything. Teach her; but teach her plainly, without mincing, that in reality they are nothing. We live in an age when every one is the child of his own deeds; and if they who fill the highest ranks of public service enjoy any superior advantage or privilege, it is the opportunity of being more useful and more beloved. It is thus alone that good fortune becomes pardonable in the eyes of the envious. This is what I would have you repeat to her constantly. I wish her to treat all her companions as her equals: many of them are better, or at least quite as deserving as she is herself, and their only inferiority is in not having had relations equally skilful or equally fortunate.

“JOSEPHINE BONAPARTE.”

But the new signature of the mother of Hortense reminds us that we have somewhat anticipated events—let us resume our narrative.

We have already mentioned Barras and Tallien as friends of Madame de Beauharnois. Bonaparte, then a general officer, also belonged to their circle, and his feelings were excited towards Josephine by the following occurrence. A general disarming of the people was one of the chief precautionary measures of police, undertaken after the insurrection of Vendemiaire, and entrusted to him for execution, in his capacity of commander in chief of the army of the interior. One day his aid-de-camp, Lemarrois, introduced a boy of fourteen, who earnestly begged the return of a sword seized by the police: it had been the weapon of his father, once in the chief command of the forces of the republic, and it seemed an act of ingratitude thus to deprive a son of the last relic of an unfortunate and respected parent. The sword was returned, and on seeing it, the boy burst into tears. The

firmness, enthusiasm, graceful manners, and filial affection of the young Eugene, for it was he, excited a lively interest in Bonaparte, and induced him to mention the occurrence to Barras, at an evening party. Madame Beauharnois appeared shortly afterwards, and Bonaparte congratulated her on possessing so interesting a son. Before the end of the evening, he became convinced that Josephine was worthy of being the mother of Eugene: the intimacy thus begun, gave rise to a mutual attachment, which increased every day, and soon terminated in marriage. This was in 1796. Bonaparte set out for his memorable campaign of Italy, and subsequently embarked for Egypt. After the latter expedition the whole family was reunited, for Hortense, then about seventeen, frequently left her boarding-school to pay long visits to Paris.

On his arrival at the capital, Bonaparte resumed the same laborious and secluded manner of life which he had led on returning from Rastadt—appearing but little in public; always occupying a latticed box at the theatre; frequenting none but literary society, and never dining with the directors, except in private. He found it, indeed, impossible to decline the public dinner given to him by the legislative councils in the Temple of Victory (St. Sulpice); but he only remained an hour, and quitted the entertainment in company with Moreau. This retirement, which appeared a necessary relaxation from his labors in the service of the State, was universally respected. The resumption of habits which had ever distinguished important epochs in his career, was attributed by many to deep designs for restoring the dignity of the nation, and for alleviating the public distress.

The conspiracies against the directory had now become universal. On all sides, Bonaparte was entreated to place himself at the head, not of a rebellion, but of a revolution. He was even made the confidant of the various schemes and designs which divided the members of the government, for there were plots among the directors themselves. The position of the different factions may be thus described. Augreau

and Bernadotte, representing the radicals of the *Manège*, offered to place him at the head of the republic. Others again, proposed the overthrow both of the directory and the manège. Among these was Fouché, who had broken with the latter; and who, though a member of the ministry, had commenced the same game which he afterwards continued to play with all the successive governments. Bonaparte was also exposed to the flatteries of another minister, who, if his conduct has partaken too much of the rapid versatility of the events, in which for forty years he has taken such active part, at least offers some atonement by all the personal superiority that genius and profound knowledge can bestow on a statesman. Such has been the ascendancy of his distinguished merit, that every new dynasty has paid to it the tribute of official employment. Influencing the diplomacy of Europe for many years; moving all the wires at pleasure; directing in secret every spring, he thus became indispensable to the ambitious; who, after seizing the supreme power, availed themselves of his experience to retain their elevation.

Among the directors themselves, discord was at its height; and they intrigued separately with Bonaparte for the destruction of their joint power. Siéyes, with many members of the council of ancients, solicited him to head the moderate party, who were to establish a constitution which he had prepared in secret. Roger Ducos was the mere shadow of Siéyes, and his constant concurrence with his colleague might be taken for granted. Barras, Moulins, and Gohier, were all desirous that Bonaparte should resume the command of the army of Italy: the first, in order to withdraw him from politics; the others, merely to employ him as the military engine of their power. They were not aware that the times of the 18th Fructidor had gone by. These plots were generally known: the most formidable was still a secret.

Bonaparte's counsellors in the present critical position of his affairs, were all men of talents and experience, such as Cambaceres, Rœderer, Real, and Regnault de St. Jean

d'Angeley. Siéyes, a Provençal and an old acquaintance of the ambitious general, was the only director who possessed any share of his confidence, and in fact, was the only one who deserved it. As for Barras and Moulins, he had long known how to appreciate them.

On the 8th of Brumaire, Bonaparte dined with Barras, — who communicated to him in pretended confidence, his determination to retire from the head of affairs. The chief director explained the necessity of adopting another form of government for France, and of selecting General Hédouville as the only proper president of the republic. As for Bonaparte, he proposed to place him at the head of a French army, with which he should conquer the old Cisalpine commonwealth, and retain its sovereignty for his own private profit. It was clear that the name of Hédouville was a mere cover for that of Barras himself, and Bonaparte, by a single glance, gave him to understand that the design was perfectly comprehended. On quitting the director, the general sought out Siéyes, to whom his own plan of revolution was exhibited. They were soon agreed, and the execution of their project was arranged for some period between the 15th and 20th of Brumaire.

The news of this conference with his colleague soon reached Barras, and it produced a visit to Bonaparte early next morning, in which the confidence of the preceding day was renewed, and the blame of the weakness of his plans laid on the impotence of the government. He concluded by declaring that he threw himself on the mercy of the only man who could save his country. Bonaparte was much less open in his explanations: he disclaimed all right to this title, and alleged that the restoration of his health and the tranquillity of repose, were all that he desired. It was about this time that Siéyes commenced taking lessons in riding: a piece of news which amused the gossips of Paris, and especially Barras, who took great delight in watching from his window the new gymnastics of his grave colleague.

In the mean time, the garrison of Paris, which had served



in Italy up to the 13th of Vendemiaire—the forty-eight adjutants of the National Guard, who had been appointed by Bonaparte after that epoch—and General Moreau, commandant of the capital, had united in a request to be presented to Napoleon and afterwards reviewed. The ceremony was deferred from day to day. At length, on the 15th, Bonaparte and Siéyes had a last decisive interview: the plan of revolution was definitely settled, and its execution appointed for the 18th.

Early on the 17th the commandant of Paris, the regiments of the garrison, and the adjutants of the sections, were requested to attend at Bonaparte's residence in the Rue Chantereine, at seven in the morning of the succeeding day. As this visit had been long arranged, no importance was attached to it. The various officers on whom any reliance could be placed, were also invited for the same hour. All of these individuals, firmly impressed with the popular belief in the immediate departure of the general for the army of Italy, imagined that they were only to receive orders relative to this subject. Neither Moreau nor Macdonald had directly solicited any participation in the arrangements of the plot, of which the existence alone had been confided to them; but they had offered to assist its execution, and, with General Lefevre, the commandant of the division, were invited to the rendezvous in the Rue Chantereine. All arrived at the appointed time: Bernadotte was brought by Joseph Bonaparte. At half past eight a messenger appeared from the council of ancients, bearing a decree passed by the influence of Siéyes and his cabal. It was the first manifesto of the revolution, and conferred the supreme military command on Bonaparte. Immediate use was made of the new power, by intrusting all the important parts of the capital to his adherents. Thus the directors, who were ignorant of all these events until about ten o'clock, found themselves, in one moment, without power, without protection, and deprived of all confidence in the council, the commander-in-chief, and the army. In this

emergency, Moulins proposed to Barras and Gohier, to have Bonaparte instantly arrested and shot; but he changed his mind when the Luxembourg was surrounded by a strong guard. He then, along with Gohier, sent in his resignation, and with him was confined in the palace of the government; from which, however, he succeeded in making his escape. Barras obtained a safe conduct, and a detachment to escort him to Gros Bois. Thus ended the Directory. On the succeeding day, the famous scene occurred at the Orangerie of St. Cloud; when Bonaparte, seconded by the firmness and presence of mind of his brother Lucien, as well as by the bayonets of his grenadiers, succeeded in dissolving the council of five hundred, and shutting up their place of meeting.

After the 18th of Brumaire, Bonaparte and his family resided at the Tuilleries. Here the mild graces of Hortense appeared to great advantage, contrasted with the glittering display of a new court, alive with the stir of military glory. She was courted by the richest and noblest of France, and had now full scope for the indulgence of those pleasing anticipations of a future which so rarely falls out according to our hopes or our fears. But France, under the sway of the first consul, was mightier than the France of the old monarchy: who might then aspire to the honor of alliance with its sovereign? The sad destiny of princesses—the obligation of loving according to political necessity—must have appeared to Hortense a heavy drawback upon all her grandeur. Girls of seventeen are not long in feeling that they possess an eye and a heart, and can conceive no other motive for matrimony than affection. Before this last revolution, the fortune of her adopted father, which, whether in prosperity or evil, ever moved with the strides of a giant, had not attained so high an elevation as to give Hortense reason to fear constraint on her inclinations. At her time of life, fancy presents everything through a false medium, which nothing but experience can remove: but the motions of reason are

slow, and she is sometimes too late in destroying the illusion and displaying the mortifying reality.

Before etiquette had changed the drawing-room of Madame Bonaparte into the brilliant hall of a sovereign, it was the resort of the highest Parisian society: a class which, at this time, presented some curious contrasts of character and situation. Around General Bonaparte were, of course, assembled the men of high military rank, and the chief public functionaries of the directory—all more or less decided jacobins, with whom it was yet necessary to preserve a good understanding. Josephine, on the other hand, was the centre of a circle composed of the courtiers of the old monarchy, who more or less openly regretted the ancient order of things. You might see a returned emigrant, still nominally under sentence of death, seated next to a member of the very convention which had pronounced that sentence: while further on, a royalist leader, secretly jealous of the renown of the soldier and the power of the civilian, concealed his envy under an affectation of contempt. The perfect good breeding of Madame Bonaparte, with the grave and imposing carriage of her husband, harmonized all these various incongruities.

Hortense frequently made her appearance in the drawing-room, and according to court gossip, was much struck with an individual conspicuous for all the qualities most admired by very young ladies—a dashing reputation, a fine figure, and bold yet polished manners. This personage was M. de Paulo, a royalist of extravagant enthusiasm, who was said to have excited an insurrection of the peasantry in the vicinity of Toulouse. His good mien, his cast of character, and especially his misfortunes, were found irresistible by Mademoiselle Beauharnois, and even Josephine was so far led away, as to allow some talk of marriage! But the bombast and vanity of young Paulo were by no means to the taste of the first consul, who exiled him forthwith to Languedoc.

In the eyes of a girl of seventeen, faults of this description are seldom unpardonable in an admirer, especially when

accompanied by striking qualities. If Paulo had been loved before for the dangers he had run, he became even more interesting when persecuted in the cause of love. Hortense had been duly impressed with tales of the glories of the old monarchy, under which her ancestors had played so distinguished a part, and her mind was filled with descriptions of those gallant, graceful, and polished nobles, who are only to be found in the atmosphere of a court. De Paulo seemed in some measure to realize these fancies. The throne had fallen, but he was still loyal. Fidelity in misfortune gave him a melancholy interest, and inspired that kind of enthusiasm always displayed by women towards those who suffer for the sake of principle. His exile gave the last touch of the picture, by adding the mellowing effects of absence to the attractions of adversity and first love.

Hortense never saw Paulo again. Even if they had met in after life, there can be no question but that her ripened judgment and correct good sense would have confirmed the decision of the consul. We may, however, be allowed to fancy that the remembrance of her lover, such as he first appeared to her imagination, sometimes recurred to her memory; and that this phantom of childish romance perhaps disturbed the pomps of royalty, and increased the melancholy monotony of grandeur.

State policy had broken off one marriage — State policy now arranged another. In uniting their own fortunes, Napoleon and Josephine seemed to have tacitly agreed to work in concert for the advancement of their families. One of the most certain and expeditious modes of forwarding this design, was to promote as many mutual alliances as could possibly be effected. The consul looked upon Louis Bonaparte, whom he had brought up, rather in the light of a son than a brother: on her side, Josephine was particularly anxious to unite him to her daughter, and they were accordingly married in the month of January, 1802.

Louis Bonaparte, Napoleon's third brother, born at Ajaccio

the 2d of September, 1778, entered the army at an early age, and served in the famous campaigns of Italy and Egypt. Several of his letters from the latter country were intercepted and published by the English. They are everywhere filled with the sound philosophy and love of mankind which may be called the basis of his character. The indignant distress excited in his heart by the cruelties and calamities of warfare, are especially remarkable. He quitted Egypt on the 14th of March, 1799, and returned to France, bearing despatches from his brother to the directory.

After Brumaire, when Napoleon had become first consul, Louis was appointed on a diplomatic mission to St. Petersburg: but the violent death of the Emperor Paul induced him to stop at Berlin, where he remained nearly a year. On his return to Paris, he received the command of the 9th regiment of dragoons, and was shortly afterwards appointed general of brigade. It was at this period that his union with Hortense took place.

Had the choice of these parties been unfettered, each possessed qualities which might have produced a mutual attachment: but the desire of happiness was exchanged for a submission to necessity, and objects present a very different appearance when regarded from opposite points of view. The character of Louis was the reverse of that of Hortense. A great moralist has remarked that this was the best reason for expecting future sympathy; but it frequently happens that the same wheels, which by properly meeting would accomplish all the objects of the mechanic, clash and crush each other by an untimely revolution.

The newly-married couple treated their union as the work of compulsion, and their little asperities instead of being smoothed by gentle friction, were in constant collision. Louis had some romance in his disposition, but it was that kind of romance which leads its possessor rather to write a book than to enact the hero. The *Contrat Social* of Rousseau was the favorite study of one, whose duty it became to assist in the

overthrow of his country's liberties, and who was doomed one day to be a king. Louis was enthusiastically devoted to visions of universal peace, and yet fate had condemned him to be a soldier. He hated ceremony, and yet his life was spent in a court, and his motions were a perpetual pageant. Preferring retirement and speculative reflection, he was hurried along by the whirlwind of his brother's genius.

Cottages and shepherdesses we may fancy as the subjects of the love dreams of Louis. It was impossible to imagine more sweetness, benevolence, and simplicity of taste, than were to be found united in the character of Hortense; but she added the qualities befitting a queen, and her superior mind was prepared for every change of fortune. She possessed a quick and decided temper, a strong intellect, and a considerable share of ambition: but her chief desire was that which forms the most ardent wish of every wife, and especially of every queen—that the renown of her husband should elevate and gratify her pride. Louis' military career had not been without distinction: his literary productions were admired throughout Europe, for their humane and correct principles: his family name had become the proudest in history—but he was the brother of Napoleon, and every minor light was dimmed by the sun of his glory.

Both were therefore far from looking forward to marriage, with that expectation of happiness which many feel so sensibly at the moment of union. Their gloom was the more observed, because the domestic incidents in the first consul's family, had already assumed the importance of political events. The ambassadors of the various powers were all present at a grand ball given by Madame de Montesson in honor of these nuptials: and thus a Bourbon's widow acted as mistress of ceremonies to the chief of the republic. Napoleon, accustomed to domineer over fortune, and seemingly careless of petty incongruities, perhaps sometimes felt a secret satisfaction in producing the singularity of such contrasts.

The new husband was at least resolved to assert his inde-

pendence as far as it lay in his power. The first consul offered to adopt the eldest son, which at that period was equivalent to the gift of a monarchy. Louis could not oppose the advancement of his child, but he ventured to refuse his consent to the formality of an adoption. When Napoleon became emperor, all his brothers were named as possible successors to the imperial crown. In the mean time the most splendid dignities of the empire were conferred on Louis; he appeared at the coronation as constable of France—he was recognized as a prince of the blood—appointed colonel—general of carbineers—governor of Piedmont, and governor of Paris. His second son was christened by the pope, who had come to Paris to anoint the emperor with the holy oil.

It was at this brilliant period of Hortense's life, that the fine collection of *romances* appeared, which has ranked her among the most tasteful of our musical composers. The saloons of Paris—the solitude of exile<sup>1</sup>—the most remote countries—have all acknowledged the charm of these delightful melodies, which need no royal name to enhance their reputation. It is gratifying to our pride of country, to hear these airs of France sung by the Greek and the Russian, and united to national poetry on the banks of the Thames and the Tagus. The homage thus rendered is the more flattering, because the rank of the composer is usually unknown. It is their intrinsic merit which gives to these natural effusions of female sensibility the power of universal success. If Hortense ever experienced matrimonial felicity, it must have been at this time. The union blessed with children seems sanctioned by Providence. Hortense had already two sons, and thus maternal tenderness, conjugal anxiety, and the pride of a

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<sup>1</sup> When Madame de Stael and her beautiful friend Madame Récamier, were exiled to the old castle of Chaumont-sur-Loir, formerly the residence of Diana of Poitiers, one of their favorite songs was that fine air composed by the queen of Holland, which has for its burthen her husband's motto—"Fais ce que dois—advienne que pourra."—(Do well, come what may).—*Ten Years of Exile*, by Madame de Stael, p. 112

princess, were all gratified in their fullest extent. Everything around her appeared to reflect glory, renown, and happiness. Josephine was seated on the first throne in the world : Eugene reigned as a viceroy at Milan ; while the head of this exalted family, a king of kings, could bestow on his brothers the monarchies raised by his military genius, and consolidated by his political talents. The brows of Hortense seemed destined for a diadem : Napoleon willed it, and Louis became king of Holland.

2 In the year 1805, Schimmelpeninck had been invested with the whole executive power of the Batavian republic, under the title of grand pensionary. He was properly impressed with the magnitude of the favor received, and promised to prove his gratitude. Unfortunately his views of policy were soon found to be in direct opposition to those of Napoleon. The grand pensionary encouraged the trade with England, and the commercial speculations of the Dutch were enormously profitable, from the almost entire prohibition of English manufactures throughout Europe. This connection with the sworn enemy of France, and Schimmelpeninck's subsequent loss of sight, furnished sufficient excuses for the emperor's intended change in the government of Holland, and the Batavian republic was erected into a monarchy. In May, 1806, a deputation consisting of Vice-Admiral Verhuel, Braczen, ambassador at Paris, Van Styreau, minister of their high mightinesses, Gogel, minister of finance, and W. Six, councillor of State, offered the crown to Louis in behalf of the republic ; and on the 5th of June the emperor, at St. Cloud, proclaimed him king of Holland, continuing at the same time his former office of constable of France.

The first offer of the throne was met by an absolute refusal on the part of Louis ; who declared the climate of Holland entirely unsuited to his weak state of health. This reply was by no means conclusive : there were other kingdoms, less cold and less humid, at the disposal of Napoleon, and in his eyes, the resolution of his brother appeared too extraordinary to



be immovable. It would have proved so, however, had not the will of the emperor been the law. Louis would have preferred a life of seclusion: "~~It is better to die a king,~~" was the laconic answer of Napoleon. The danger was by no means so imminent as Louis would have wished it to appear: the constitution of the new monarch was, however, extremely delicate, and bodily weakness increased the natural gloom of his sombre and melancholy temperament. If the refusal was dictated by pure philosophy, we cannot but admire it, even if our own feelings disable us from imitation. In the peculiar circumstances under which Louis and Hortense were placed, they were partners in fortune as well as in happiness. Napoleon was as anxious to bestow a crown upon his adopted daughter, as a sceptre on his brother. If Louis adhered to his resolution, it was, on the part of Hortense, a sort of abdication, unless the Salic law, so venerated in France, were abolished in Holland. The chance of becoming a king, might therefore be considered as a part of their marriage contract. The force of this reasoning was at length understood by Louis, and he abandoned this unjust opposition.

In the midst of the enjoyment of new dignity, and of benevolent plans for the future welfare of her subjects, the happiness of Hortense was clouded by the necessary separation from her mother and her home. It was the first severance for any length of time, which had occurred during her whole life. The prospect of departure from the scenes of infancy now revived all her childish feelings and attachments, and the pain thus created divided her heart with the anticipation of future grandeur. She wished at least, to bid adieu to France in a manner worthy of a kind and compassionate princess. She learned that Madame de Gévres,<sup>1</sup> a noble lady of the court of Louis XVI., ruined by the revolution, had fruitlessly endeavored to obtain permission to revisit the place

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<sup>1</sup> The last descendant of the celebrated De Guesclin. She died in 1831, at an advanced age.

of her birth. Hortense could now feelingly appreciate this patriotic attachment: she solicited and obtained from the emperor, the recall of Madame de Gévres, and her farewell to her country was thus commemorated by another deed of heavenly charity.

On the 18th of June, 1806, Louis and his queen arrived in their new dominions. They took up their residence at the *Maison des Bois*, a country-seat about a league from the Hague, where they received the various congratulatory deputations. Their public entry into the capital was delayed until five days later. Louis was well known in Holland, which he had visited on former occasions, and the curiosity of the Dutch was therefore chiefly directed towards the queen, whom they now saw for the first time. At the Hague, as in all other countries, love is the promptest and most universal cause of popular enthusiasm. Louis was highly esteemed and venerated, but fear always predominates in the respect inspired by a king: whilst a young and lovely queen fascinates all eyes and wins every heart. The Hollanders, who received Hortense with joyous acclamations, might easily have believed that the fair being before them had been created by heaven expressly for their sovereign.

In her appearance, Hortense united the fine figure, the noble mien and the graceful manners of her mother, to the peculiar charms of the beauties of the Netherlands, their soft blue eyes, profusion of fair hair, and dazzling complexion. Her conversation displayed the elegance of a French woman, in the vivacity, sprightliness, and appropriate turn of her least expressions. During her residence at the Hague, that sober capital presented an appearance as gay as it was unexpected, in a constant succession of public balls and entertainments, at which the most distinguished youth contended for superiority in dress and accomplishments. The dancing of the queen was perfection, and she promoted this delightful amusement, with that true condescension which produces in every

mind the forgiveness, but never the forgetfulness of superior rank.

As soon as the king had assumed the reins of government, he began to use every exertion in his power to merit the affection which his subjects already professed from confidence in his virtues. To promote sedulously all the various interests of the country, seemed to him a certain means of succeeding in his endeavor. "I desire," said he, in reply to a deputation, "to be saluted by the title of *national majesty*." He declined the services of a body of French troops, which had been sent to accompany him to his capital; it was his wish that the escort of his entry should consist of Hollanders alone. This delicate proceeding made a very favorable impression, and its success induced the adoption of further measures of a similar character. As all the officers of the household were Frenchmen appointed at Paris, it was natural for the aristocracy of Holland to view this exclusive preference with deep mortification: they justly concluded that the duties of welcome, and attendance on the foreign prince given to them as a monarch, belonged of right to the natives of the soil. Louis entertained the same sentiments, and gradually removed the French, under various pretexts, from all the posts of importance, which were speedily filled by Hollanders.

Among other dismissions was that of the grand marshal of the palace, M. de Broc, whom queen Hortense had united to her friend Adèle Auguié, the sister-in-law of Marshal Ney. Louis despatched him on a message of congratulation to Madrid, on the accession of King Joseph, and as he was never recalled, he returned to the French service. His wife remained with Hortense, for the queen could never part from the faithful depository of all her griefs; while she repaid the confidence with that sympathy so essential to their endurance. Braving everything, even the open indignation of the king, Madame de Broc supported her friend, and repelled the malignant suspicions and insidious calumnies which assailed the

reputation of her sovereign and benefactress. Ah! why should the ties of such an attachment ever be destroyed?

A just appreciation of his political position, and of the decision and perseverance displayed in making every necessary sacrifice, shows that Louis was too diffident of his abilities, when he declined a throne; indeed we doubt whether any of his brothers could have filled it more worthily. In receiving the investiture of Holland, there were but two lines of policy to be adopted. As a mere imperial prefect, the new king was to sacrifice independence by subjecting everything to France, and to annihilate the prosperity of a people wholly dependent on maritime commerce, by forcing upon them the continental system; or on mounting the throne he was to assume at once the duties and dignities of a sovereign, and as such, to act exclusively for the welfare of his kingdom. The former alternative would undoubtedly have excited insurrection, and to make war on his subjects is, for a monarch, but an indifferent style of reigning. The latter plan was far more honorable; instead of being the mere instrument of another's caprice, it was to reject all subserviency, and to be really a king. It is true that in either case, the final consummation would inevitably be the occupation of Holland by the imperial armies; but there is no room for self-reproach when we have followed the conclusions of reason and the dictates of conscience. Louis had taken for his motto, "DO WELL, COME WHAT MAY."

Unhappily the king, though the one most interested in deciding correctly, was the only person who saw things in this light. The highest offices, it is true, were filled up by natives of Holland, yet many inferior employments were still in the hands of the French. In proportion to the coldness and distance exhibited by Louis towards his countrymen, the queen believed herself obliged to increase the consolation of encouragement and courtesy. The favor she showed was the more sincere, because she really disapproved of the policy which rendered their situation so delicate. Placed, in a

manner, between her husband and her adopted father, she may be pardoned for believing in the infallibility of one whose iron will had well ministered, in every conjuncture, to the advancement of his glory. It is true that in espousing the interests of the French, she lost nothing of the attachment of her subjects, but the difference in the behaviour of the royal pair involved the court in perpetual contests. The rivalry apparent in the smallest details of the palace betrayed this misunderstanding, the results of which must necessarily, be so disastrous to the general weal.

The situation of Rotterdam is delightful ; its appearance is handsome and its streets particularly clean. There is a superb road leading to the Hague, pleasantly laid out along the canal, and shaded by fine trees. It runs through vast meadows, covered with cattle, and displaying a verdure of the most splendid green. The view, which would be otherwise monotonous, is diversified by a multitude of small country-seats, not built perhaps with the most correct taste, but pleasing from their remarkable neatness, and the beautiful gardens of the rarest plants, by which they are surrounded and adorned.

Holland displays a peculiar character ; it is like nothing but itself—a conquest from the sea, preserved by the constant repair of its dykes. Its inhabitants are well provided with the means of subsistence and comfort, and are extremely conscientious in the discharge of every duty connected with the government. They are brave soldiers : Bonaparte has openly pronounced this opinion, and they enjoyed the same character in the days of Tacitus. Their probity is extraordinary : nearly all their contracts are verbal, yet they are as scrupulous in the obligations of commerce, as in the engagements of love or the promises of marriage.

An outline of the court of Holland may not be inappropriate. M. D'Arjusion held the post of grand chamberlain : Auguste Caulaincourt that of grand equerry. M. De Ville-

neuve was first chamberlain to the queen: his wife, the daughter of M. Guibert — a lady celebrated for her wit and her fine person — was *dame du palais*. M. de Saugras, chief master of the ceremonies, did the honors of the palace in an extremely agreeable manner.

M. de Girardin tells us that a chamberlain introduced him into the cabinet of the king, who was dressed in the uniform of the guard, white, with crimson facings. “The pleasure of seeing him after a long absence, was diminished by my sorrow at observing his sallow complexion, and aspect of general languor, and the extreme difficulty he experienced in walking, and especially in standing. He looked so much like a man on whom death had set his seal, that I found it impossible to restrain the feelings of sadness with which his appearance oppressed me. My emotion became so strong that it was noticed by his majesty, and drew from him several remarks, though I sincerely hope that he was unable to divine the cause. It is impossible to know the king and not to love him: he is gifted with all the inestimable qualities that belong to an upright man. I was the bearer of two letters: one from the king of Naples, and the other from his mother. He conversed with us a long time, and expressed great pleasure at seeing us again. I mentioned that a passage in his letter to the queen of Naples, had given rise to my journey. ‘Be assured,’ was his reply, ‘that I shall use every exertion in my power to be useful to Joseph: whatever belongs to me is at his disposal. I am already endeavoring to raise money, though it will be a difficult business; for this country would never lend, even to Napoleon. However, I do not despair, and shall do my best.’ All this was said in that open, frank manner, which no dissimulation, however practised, can pretend to imitate. ‘Your majesty,’ said I, ‘has just opened a loan, which, I understand, is filling up rapidly. It is a splendid reward of your exertions, and the most flattering testimony of the popularity of your administration. Posterity

will ever remember with gratitude, your constant opposition to a national bankruptcy.' 'I take the more credit to myself,' said the king, 'for this opposition, because the measure was particularly pressed upon me by the emperor. I found it impossible to persuade him, that in declaring bankruptcy, I declared the destruction of Holland. All its capital would have immediately sought refuge in England, where much of it is collected already. The force of circumstances has set on foot a contraband trade, which I find it impracticable to suppress. This nation is so industrious, that with a population of not more than eighteen hundred thousand souls, it pays one hundred and ten millions. Its debt is sixty millions, and there is scarcely enough remaining for State expenses. There is not a French soldier in the kingdom, yet I am obliged to supply a corps of twenty thousand Dutch troops for the grand army. Peace! peace! that must be the grand object of conquest. This hard work ruins my health, Girardin; you must find me very much changed. I can scarcely write: I walk with great difficulty.'—He was continually rubbing his legs and hands during the whole interview.—'The climate of this country is killing me. Its humidity is very unwholesome for my constitution. I am sorry for it: it is the country of good faith. There is no need here of superintending the administration: a man, on receiving an appointment, swears that he will fulfil its duties to the best of his ability, and keeps his word. Their custom-house oaths are never examined, and are never false. It is a nation of true republicans, but deeply tinged with party spirit: this prevents them from forming a proper estimate of each other. I require a hot climate, and the baths of the south of France.'

“On taking leave of his majesty, we were informed by M. Boucheberné, prefect of the palace, that the king desired us to lodge in no other house than his own, and that we were to reside in the palace: this intelligence was afterwards confirmed by M. de Saugras. Just as we were about sitting down to table, we were invited to dine with the queen. The

company consisted of an aid-de-camp of Jerome, Madame de Bouber, and the little Prince Louis.

“The queen was as agreeable and amiable as ever. I delivered her the letters from the empress and the queen. ‘I always like to receive letters,’ said she, ‘and to be remembered. My friends would be ungrateful if they forgot me, for I never forget any one. My brother Joseph ought certainly to be pleased with me; for, while I was at Mayence, I wrote to him frequently, and sent him a great quantity of trifling news, which absence alone renders of the least consequence.’

“After dinner, we went into the queen’s drawing-room. Her apartments are furnished with great simplicity. Nothing could be more gracious than our reception, and on leaving her, she invited us to prolong our visit to this country, and to pay our respects to her every evening. Before going to bed, we made a round of visits to all the ministers, and returned to our hotel at ten o’clock at night, heartily tired. All the French about the king’s person are loud in their complaints of the climate: Caulaincourt, whose health is indifferent, is quite unable to stand its effects.

“Next day, the king received us in his cabinet. He was in the midst of a circle of the great civil and military officers. He quitted his place for the purpose of addressing a few words in an obliging manner to the different members of the diplomatic corps, and the various individuals who had the honor of being admitted to the audience.

“The court presents an extremely brilliant spectacle. The dresses of the public ministers and the civil functionaries are superbly embroidered: it seems as if they intended to make up for the long prohibition of embroidery in this country. The great officers of State wear a green dress, laced with gold: the pattern of the trimming is the same as that of the imperial household. The chamberlains are dressed in red and gold: the equerries and prefect in blue and gold. The diplomatic costume of Holland is remarkably rich and



elegant: it is a shade of very light blue, with silver lace. The decoration of the Order of Holland has been very extensively distributed: there are three classes—knights, commanders, and grand crosses. This sort of distinction has become quite an object of ambition, in a country where it was previously wholly unknown. Wherever men are united in society, vanity, adroitly flattered, is one of the most potent instruments of the sway of the ruler.

“The king generally rides with a single pair of horses to his carriage: it is only on very rare occasions that he uses a coach and six. Whenever he goes out, the equerry on duty mounts his horse, and takes his place near the door.”

Calamity reunited Louis and Hortense, and restored for a time domestic concord, by overwhelming them with misfortune. In the beginning of May, 1807, their eldest son, the young Prince Napoleon, was suddenly carried off by the croup; a disease of which even the name was, until then, unknown in France.

The grief of Hortense, which was vehement in proportion to the strength of mind it had overcome, excited serious apprehensions for her life. It brought on a series of nervous attacks, that inspired pity in all who approached her. The distress of Louis was not less poignant, though more gloomy and under better command. Their physicians at length recommended the baths of the Pyrenees; perhaps quite as much to remove them from the reminiscences of their lost child, as for any medical properties likely to be useful in the restoration of their health.

It is one of the burthens of royalty, that a monarch can neither enjoy nor suffer like a private individual: every moment withdrawn from duty, to be devoted to pleasure or sorrow, is marked by a public loss. The Dutch sympathized too deeply in the affliction of their sovereigns to murmur at their seeking consolation in the variety of travel: but, unfortunately, though Louis had rendered them happy by the equitable policy of his personal government, yet he could not

prevent the just grounds of complaint that arose from the measures of Napoleon, who administered the affairs of his kingdom during his journey.

The emperor availed himself of this opportunity to introduce into Holland the measures of policy adopted in his own territories. The chief resources of Great Britain were derived from her commerce with the continent, which was the outlet for the immense products of her factories. Collecting by her ships the raw material of every country, she afterwards laid all Europe under contribution by returning them in a manufactured shape. By closing this outlet the sources of her prosperity were dried up, and her most vital interests endangered. Such was the Continental System. The opposition in Holland to its introduction sunk under the absolute will of Napoleon, and the ministers of Louis obeyed with reluctance and sorrow.

The inhabitants of the sea-ports, deprived of the resources of lawful commerce, attempted to substitute an illicit traffic. The emperor became irritated, and would have made terrible examples of the guilty, but for the return of Louis, who exercised the richest prerogative of royalty, by pardoning the criminals. This clemency, with his courageous humanity at the time of the disaster at Leyden and during several inundations, endeared him still more to his subjects. The contraband trade, however, was greatly augmented by the impunity of the first offenders; and Napoleon, deeply incensed by the opposition to his authority, began to entertain unfriendly feelings towards his brother, and to project seriously the union of Holland and France.

On her return from the Pyrenees, Hortense was prevented from proceeding to the Hague by her peculiarly delicate state of health. She suffered from general weakness, and had but partially recovered from the nervous attack, brought on by the recent shock. Her domestic happiness had been also much disturbed by the political disputes of her husband and the emperor. Calamities from without strike equally the

prince and the peasant in their domestic recoil. The gloomy temper of Louis, exasperated by the importunate demands of his brother, no longer permitted him to be kind to a wife, who espoused or excused every measure dictated by the policy of France.

Napoleon's grounds of complaint are contained in a letter addressed to the king of Holland, in 1808, on the occasion of the pardon of the smugglers. This historical document is too important to be here omitted; for it forms a valuable appendix to the account of his administration given to the public by Louis, and has a direct bearing on events deeply and fatally influencing the destiny of Queen Hortense.

*Chateau de Marac, April 3d, 1808.*

Sir, and my brother,—Within the last hour I received your despatch of the 22d March, from the Auditor D—t, and the courier, who will bear you my reply, sets out for Holland immediately. The use you have made of the power of pardon must inevitably produce bad effects. The power of pardon is one of the finest and noblest attributes of sovereignty: but to save it from contempt, it should only be exercised when the mercy of the sovereign is no reproach to the act of the judge—when the royal clemency can inspire none but generous and grateful sentiments. But the present case is widely different. A troop of banditti attack and murder a party of custom-house officers, in order to smuggle with more impunity:—they are condemned to death, and your majesty accords them a pardon—a pardon to outcasts and assassins whom no one pitied! Had these men been merely taken in the act of smuggling—had they even murdered your officers in self-defence—then the destitute condition of their families, and the particular circumstances of the deed, might have been taken into consideration, and the mitigation of the rigor of the law would have gained for your government an appearance of paternal kindness. In remitting the penalty of crimes against fiscal laws, and especially in the forgiveness of political

offences, mercy is well bestowed. The great principle is, that when the sovereign himself is the object of the crime, then clemency becomes admirable. On the first rumor of an accusation of this nature, public opinion is arrayed on the side of the culprit, and not in support of the executive which is to enforce the law. Should the prince remit the punishment, the people consider him superior to the offence, and their indignation is then excited against the offender : should he pursue an opposite course, he is reprobated as an oppressor and a tyrant ; but if he pardon atrocious criminals, he is condemned for his weakness, or hated for his evil intentions. Do not imagine that mercy is a prerogative which can be always wielded without injury, or that society applauds its constant employment. On the contrary, the community condemns its exercise on signal offenders, because it then becomes destructive of social order. You have made use of this right too frequently and too indiscriminately : you should be deaf to your heart's benevolence, when it incites to acts detrimental to your subjects. I should have imitated your conduct with regard to the Jews, but I would never have pardoned the Middleburg smugglers. In the latter case, there were many reasons why justice should have been allowed to take its course, and by the terror of such an execution to attain the excellent effect of preventing future crimes. Royal officers had been massacred in the middle of the night ; the murderers were condemned ; yet your majesty commutes the punishment for a few years' imprisonment, and the inevitable result will be found in a complete discouragement of the collectors of the revenue.

Let me now explain the political tendency of this measure. For many years past, Holland has been the channel through which England has introduced its manufactures into the continent, and this branch of trade has been immensely profitable to its merchants. For this reason the Dutch are attached to smuggling and favor England, and for this reason they hate France, who prohibits smuggling, and wars against

England. The pardon you have accorded to these murdering revenue-breakers, is a kind of deference paid to the love of Holland for contraband trade. It seems as if you made common cause with them ; but against whom ? Against myself !

The Hollanders are attached to you. Your manners are plain : your disposition mild : your government suited to their views. Were you to show yourself firmly resolved to put down all illicit traffic — were you to explain to your subjects their true position — you would then employ your influence with discretion, and they would believe the continental system a benefit, because it would be upheld by their king. I cannot discover what advantage your majesty proposes to yourself, from popularity obtained at my expense. The days of Ryswick are gone by in Holland, and France is no longer in the last years of Louis XIV. If Holland be unable to pursue an independent policy ; she has no alternative but to adhere to the conditions of her alliance with France.

The policy of princes, my brother, must ever regard the future, and not the mere exigencies of the passing day. What is the present condition of Europe ? On the one hand is England, possessing alone a preponderance to which the whole world has hitherto been obliged to submit ; on the other are the French empire and the powers of the continent ; who, with the force of union, can never submit to this species of supremacy exercised by Great Britain. All these nations formerly possessed colonies and foreign commerce ; the extent of their seaboard is much greater than that of England ; but unfortunately they have been always disunited. Great Britain has attacked their navies in detail — she has triumphed on every sea — and all their maritime forces are destroyed. With all the resources for shipping and seamen, of Russia, Sweden, France, and Spain, not a squadron dare venture from their roadsteads. It is no longer, then, from a league of the maritime powers — a confederacy which is moreover impracticable, from distance and conflicting interests — that Europe

must expect commercial independence and established peace : they can only be declared by the will of England !

Peace ! I desire to obtain it by every means consistent with the dignity of France : for peace, I will sacrifice all but national honor. Every day I am more and more convinced of its necessity, and the other powers wish for it as much as I do. I entertain towards England, neither angry prejudice nor implacable hatred. Her policy towards me has been the policy of repulsion ; on my part, I have retaliated by a system of exclusion ; not so much from the ambitious views alleged by my enemies, as to force the British cabinet to terms. I am perfectly content that England should be rich and prosperous, if France and her allies are as rich and prosperous as England. Thus the continental system has no other end than to accelerate a final settlement of international law, as well for the French empire as for Europe. All the northern sovereigns maintain a rigorous prohibitive policy, yet their commerce has increased wonderfully ; the fabrics of Prussia in particular already begin to rival our own manufactures. You are aware that France itself, and all the extent of coast from the Gulf of Lyons to the head of the Adriatic, now an integral part of the empire, are absolutely closed against the products of foreign industry. I am now about to take such a share in the affairs of Spain, as will wrest Portugal from the influence of Great Britain, and place the Spanish ports under the full control of the French political system. Thus the whole seaboard of Europe will be shut against the English, for I exclude the Turks, who have no commerce with the rest of the continent.

You will perceive from this abstract, the fatal consequences of the facilities afforded by Holland to Great Britain for introducing her manufactures into Europe. It affords her an opportunity of raising from ourselves the subsidies with which other nations are paid to attack us. Your majesty is more interested than I am, in guarding against the trickery of

English diplomacy. A few years' patience, and England will desire peace as earnestly as her enemies.

Again, if you consider the position of your States, you will discover that the continental system is less beneficial to me than to yourself. Holland is essentially a commercial and maritime power. She possesses capacious harbors, fleets, seamen, skilful officers, and colonies which cost the mother country nothing. Her inhabitants, too, have as much ability in commerce as the English. Has not Holland all this to protect? May not peace restore her to her ancient importance? Grant that her situation for a few years may be painful: is it not better than that the monarch of Holland should be a mere English governor, and his kingdom and colonies the appanages of Great Britain? Any encouragement given to the trade with England must tend directly to this result. Sicily and Portugal are before your eyes.

Let events take their course. If you are obliged to sell your gin, England is obliged to buy it. Point out places where it can be obtained by the British smugglers in return for hard money, but never for merchandize: *never — you understand me.* Peace will come at last, and then a treaty of commerce will be signed with England. Very probably I may conclude one too, but our mutual interests shall be guaranteed. If we should be obliged to allow England her maritime supremacy, purchased at the expense of so much blood and treasure; a preponderance, moreover, to which she is entitled by geographical situation, and her territorial acquisitions in three quarters of the globe; at least our vessels will be able to navigate the ocean without the fear of insult to their flag, and our foreign commerce will cease to be ruinous. The main object now is, to prevent England from interfering in the politics of the continent.

This business of the pardons has drawn me into long details, which were necessary to obviate erroneous impressions, if any such had been instilled into your majesty by a Dutch ministry. I request you to reflect seriously on this letter—to

make the matters of which it treats a subject of deliberation in your councils, and through your ministers, to give a corresponding impulse to the administration of the government.

France will never permit Holland, under any pretext, to secede from the general cause of the continent. As for the smugglers, since the fault has already been committed, and there are no means of recalling the past, I can only advise you not to leave them in the prison of Middleburg, which is too near the scene of their crime : send them to the other end of Holland.

The insertion of this letter seemed necessary to exhibit the true situation of Louis in Holland. Harassed by the constant importunities of his brother, the reaction of his vexation was too often felt by the queen. Was she then sufficiently indulgent? Did she feel that, notwithstanding the inferiority of his genius, her husband could not yield, without pain, to views of policy diametrically opposite to his own? She probably endured as long as it was in her power, the miseries of an union without sympathy; but she was unhappy, and power without happiness has no charms save for the unfeeling and ambitious. The heart of Hortense had been cast in another and a far different mould.

Louis soon grew weary of his capital, and removed the court to Utrecht, hoping to escape from his own disgust and chagrin. To change of place—the first remedy suggested by unhappiness—the king, in his new abode, sought to add the relief of gaiety. In addition to the ordinary parade of a court, there were frequently small social parties at the palace; and public balls, attended by the best society of the province; but in all these assemblies, seemingly devoted to pleasure, the languor and monotony impressed by the absence of the queen, were but too apparent. All remembered the charm with which her wit and vivacity had enlivened the circles of the Hague, and all regretted the fascination that ever surrounds a young, affable, and beautiful princess.



Louis was soon dissatisfied with his residence at Utrecht. He found the town to be too thinly peopled to supply sufficient movement and variety to the court circle. Its inhabitants were chiefly retired merchants, living quietly on their incomes, who were annoyed by the turmoil which thus interrupted their old established habits. While these showed but little gratitude for the preference of their sovereign, the citizens of the Hague, on the other hand, were enraged by his desertion. Either to suppress murmurs, or to indulge once more the love of change, Louis returned again to the north of Holland, where the industry and wealth of the nation were chiefly centered. Amsterdam was finally fixed upon, and received officially the merited title of capital of the kingdom.

As Holland still continued to import great quantities of English merchandize, the cause of the emperor's displeasure was by no means removed. Louis was invited to attend a congress in the city of Paris, of all the sovereigns in alliance with Napoleon. He was perfectly aware of the reproaches that awaited him, and of the projects of his brother; but he knew also that when the independence of a sovereign is unsupported by military forces, resistance to colossal power is a mere sacrifice of the welfare of his subjects. In the end of November, 1809, the king of Holland repaired to Paris, in the vain hope of averting the storm he felt himself unable to withstand.

Louis had little reason to look for a fraternal reception, when he considered the unfriendly relations subsisting between France and Holland, and the mortifications heaped upon him under the sanction of the emperor. It happened quite otherwise. Napoleon received his brother graciously, and in a manner expressive of sincere and ardent friendship. The king was at once surprised and moved; pomp and etiquette were laid aside, and the kindest affection replaced the stiffness of royal dignity. It was a meeting of brothers after a long and painful estrangement. The pleasure of reconciliation engrossed all their thoughts, and public affairs were never

mentioned. Still the king would have desired an open and unhesitating discourse on the various interests which had so long divided the two nations, for past events rendered him suspicious, and the silence of Napoleon left little room for self-deceit. The careless manner in which he was treated, soon gave him to understand that the demands on Holland would be mere subjects of official communication; that he was not to be consulted; and that no pains would be taken to secure his approbation, or to ascertain that the measures proposed accorded with the interests of Holland.

These gloomy presentiments were soon but too fully realized. The speech of Napoleon to the legislative body announced the sad destiny of Holland. The king would probably have entered his solemn protest before the assembled sovereigns, but care had been taken to exclude him from the invitation which embraced all the other allies of the emperor. The danger became every day more imminent: Louis at length resolved to return privately to his kingdom, and to resist the violent encroachments of his brother, if resistance were yet possible. The secret orders given for his departure were communicated to the emperor, and the king, on his part, ascertained that he was constantly watched by disguised officers of the police: one of them, an old soldier of the fifth regiment of dragoons, having discovered himself to his former colonel. Louis dissimulated, and hoping to elude the vigilance of his guards, feigned total ignorance of this system of observation; but every hope proved vain—every plan was a failure. Neither corruption nor address could extricate him from the toils in which he was involved, and no resource was left better than a disguised flight. A man more robust and resolute than Louis, might have quitted Paris at nightfall—mounted his horse at the gates—and escaped at full speed; but though still young, the doubtful health of the king prevented all thoughts of so hardy an enterprize. He resolved to despatch one of his attendants secretly to Amsterdam, with positive orders to the minister of war to break the dykes,

place the country in a complete state of military preparation, and by every possible exertion to prevent the French forces from occupying the capital. Napoleon, who was soon informed of these measures, made bitter complaints to the king, and gave way to the most furious passion. Louis opposed firmness to violence, and when driven to extremity, avowed openly that the defensive preparations had been undertaken by his express command. "I have been deceived," was his bold expression, "by promises which were never intended to be kept. Holland is weary of being the puppet of France." The emperor, enraged by a dignified opposition to which he was wholly unused, was violently excited; Louis met him with the quiet resignation and composure of a good conscience. Napoleon quickly recovered himself, and becoming suddenly calm, informed the king coldly, that he must choose between the union of Holland to France, or the immediate revocation of his warlike instructions, and the removal of his minister of war.

This result had been the constant object of the king's most lively apprehensions; it was this deadly blow which he had endeavored most especially to shun. The imperious necessity of his situation compelled submission, and forced him to comply with the demands of those who were armed with irresistible power. In his inmost heart, the noble design was still cherished, of protecting his dominions from their imminent danger: but to effect this, it was first necessary to escape from the species of captivity in which he was held. His renewed attempts to elude the vigilance of his domestic spies, were regularly thwarted. Under pretence of the respectful deference due to his exalted rank, their attendance on his person was constant, and they particularly, but with the utmost politeness, opposed all his excursions in the direction of the gate of Flanders.

The first open act of usurpation undertaken against Holland, was the occupation of the fortresses of Bergen-op-Zoom and Breda by the Marshal Duke of Reggio, without the know-

ledge of the king : at the same time the emperor proclaimed the union to France of the whole country between the Meuse, the Scheldt, and the ocean. The captive monarch, incapable of armed resistance, published a protest against this flagrant infraction of every principle of international law.

His health was so far affected by these various disturbances and vexations, that for some time he was confined to his bed by a nervous disease. All the different monarchs then assembled in Paris, hastened to visit him ; Napoleon alone was absent, and this apparent indifference deeply wounded the feelings of his sensitive brother. At length the emperor came, and accosted him with the utmost kindness ; but the conversation turned entirely upon indifferent topics, without the slightest mention of politics.

As soon as his health would permit, the king undertook a short journey, for the purpose of settling his position on the score of restraint. He proceeded to his chateau of St. Leu, where the question was resolved to his disappointment and mortification. The measure of sacrifice was not yet filled : concessions far more important than those already made, were still to be exacted. As usual, Louis began by resistance and ended in submission. It was the only means to retain a sovereignty, of which he was less tenacious from personal motives, than from anxiety to preserve the place of Holland among the independent powers of Europe. Much was yielded, though with deep regret. Everything that was not lost, seemed a clear gain in these unhappy negotiations. At length the constant watching of his person ceased : Napoleon became kind when all his demands were conceded, and even endeavored to renew their former affection. After an absence which, instead of lasting one month, had been prolonged to four, Louis took his departure from France. His affliction at this protracted separation from his kingdom may well be imagined, but every sorrow was forgotten as he approached once more his adopted country, his cherished Holland.

The highest enjoyment of a monarch, the delight of witnessing the joy of his subjects, awaited Louis in his dominions. Dark rumors, hinting that he would never return, had been long circulated, and the sensation produced by his re-appearance was the more enthusiastic in proportion to its being unexpected. The queen also was immediately looked for. Her residence at Paris had been but little happier than her husband's, for the same ambition which excited Napoleon's aggressions upon Holland, had also inspired the project of an imperial alliance with the house of Austria. Motives seemingly the most opposite, governed the deeds of this extraordinary man. After routing the armies of Francis in a hundred battles—after two entries as a conqueror into the German capital—he rejoiced in consummating the humiliation of his enemy, by extorting his consent to the marriage of his daughter. It seemed also to the fortunate soldier, that an alliance with the oldest and haughtiest dynasty of Europe, would seat him legitimately on his uninherited throne.

A second marriage being decreed, it became necessary to annul the first. Long before any direct expression of the imperial will, the quick-sighted courtiers had discovered Napoleon's intentions; which were allowed, indeed, to escape by degrees, as if to prepare the public mind, and the feelings of the individuals most deeply interested. In this he was unsuccessful. A palace seldom contains the courage or the indiscretion that will convey unwelcome intelligence to the sovereign, before it assumes an official shape. Notwithstanding all the precautions of her husband, the heart of Josephine was so long a stranger to distrust, that even at the fatal moment of explanation, the blow prepared by the manœuvres of many weeks, and announced through every channel, came at last, with the suddenness and severity of an unexpected shock.

As early as a journey to Fontainebleau, in 1807, the word *divorce* had been cautiously whispered by the officers of the imperial household. A sudden death had carried off the

eldest son of the queen of Holland ; a loss deeply regretted by Napoleon. When only seven years of age, the child exhibited a most promising disposition, great mildness of temper, and an aptitude of character, capable of receiving the noblest impressions. The first born of the new dynasty had excited and preserved all the solicitude and affection of its founder, who had given him his name, and had proposed adoption. Napoleon indulged the hope of superintending his education, and of making him ultimately the heir of his power : with the death of this child came probably the first thought of centring in himself and his direct line, the hopes and heritage of so many victories.

After the conferences of Schoenbrunn, the idea of a divorce had obtained complete possession of the mind of Napoleon. On his return to France after the conclusion of peace, he proceeded directly to Fontainbleau. His journey had been so well arranged, that he arrived many hours before the empress, who had quitted Strasburg, and had been more than a month at Paris. This delay produced severe reproaches on the part of Napoleon, who was seeking excuses for his conduct even to himself.

“ Three days after our arrival at Fontainbleau,” says an officer of the household who has since published his memoirs, “ I observed some traces of sadness upon the brow of Josephine, and much less freedom in Napoleon’s manners towards her. One morning, after breakfast, the empress did me the honor to converse with me in the recess of a window in her chamber ; and after some commonplace questions respecting our stay at Schoenbrunn, and the manner in which we passed our time there, she said to me, ‘ Monsieur de Bausset, I have great confidence in your attachment to me : I hope you will reply with sincerity to the question I am about to ask you.’ I assured her of my readiness to give her all the information in my power, and that I felt at greater liberty to do so, because nothing had been entrusted to me which could bind me to silence. ‘ Well, then, if you know the reason, tell me why.

the private communication between my apartment and that of the emperor has been closed.' 'I was entirely ignorant of it, madam, until your present assurance of the fact. I only know that some repairs were commenced, and that they have been suspended in consequence of the emperor having returned much sooner than he was expected. Probably they did not imagine that he would take up his residence at Fontainebleau so late in the season. Your majesty may perceive from the manner in which some of your apartments are furnished, that things are not yet completed.' Such was my answer, and in truth I should have been much embarrassed had I made any other, for this was not the time to speak of my private observations. I shall never forget the last words which this estimable princess condescended to address to me: 'Be assured, M. de Bausset, that there is some mystery in all this.' This conversation only served to strengthen the impressions I had received during the negotiations at Schoenbrunn, although I could not foresee the period of the catastrophe, nor how it would be brought about. I was soon better informed.

"The king of Saxony arrived at Paris on the 13th of November, and their majesties left Fontainebleau on the 14th. Napoleon performed the journey on horseback, and immediately after his arrival he paid a visit to the king, who occupied the palace of L'Elysée. The presence of this virtuous monarch at Paris sometimes interrupted their privacy, but the embarrassment of Napoleon increased proportionably with the uneasiness and vague forebodings of the empress. She appeared to have a strong presentiment of approaching misfortune, and to be gathering her strength to support its bitterness with fortitude.

"I was on duty at the Tuilleries, after the 27th of November. On that day, and on the succeeding Tuesday and Wednesday, I could easily observe a great change in the features of the empress, and a mute constraint in the manners of Napoleon. If during dinner, he broke the silence, it was

only to ask me some brief question, without listening to my reply. On each of these days the dinner was over in less than ten minutes. At length, on Thursday, the 30th, the storm burst. Their majesties sat down at table: Josephine wore a large white hat, which was tied under the chin, and concealed a great part of her face. I thought I could perceive that she had been weeping, and that she still restrained her tears with difficulty. She appeared the image of grief and despair. The most profound silence reigned during the whole meal, and the dishes were touched out of mere form. The only words uttered were when Napoleon asked me 'what kind of weather it was?' In pronouncing them he rose from the table, and Josephine slowly followed. When coffee was served, Napoleon took the cup from the page in waiting, and intimated that he wished to be alone. Anxious, uneasy, and a prey to gloomy reflections, I immediately retired to the attendance hall, where their majesties usually dined, and sat down in an arm chair near the door of the emperor's apartment. I was watching mechanically the removal of the dinner service, when I suddenly heard the empress shriek violently. The usher of the chamber was on the point of opening the door, but I prevented him, observing that the emperor would call for assistance if he thought it necessary.

"I was standing close to the door when Napoleon opened it himself, and said quickly on perceiving me, 'Come in, Bausset, and shut the door.' I entered the room, and saw the empress lying on the carpet, and uttering the most lamentable cries and complaints. 'No! no! I can never survive it,' exclaimed the unfortunate princess. Napoleon said to me, 'Bausset, are you strong enough to carry Josephine down the private staircase to her own apartment?' I immediately obeyed, and with the assistance of Napoleon, raised the empress, who seemed to be laboring under a nervous attack. He then took a light from the table, and opened a door, which led through an obscure passage to the staircase he had mentioned. When we had come to the first step of the staircase,



I observed to Napoleon that it was too narrow for us to descend without falling · he immediately called the keeper of his portefeuille, who was stationed, night and day, at a door of the cabinet opening upon the landing. Napoleon gave him the torch, which was now of no use in the lighted passage, and ordered him to go before. He then took hold of Josephine's feet himself, to enable me to descend with more ease. Once my sword embarrassed me, and I thought we should certainly fall ; but happily no accident occurred, and we deposited our precious burthen on an ottoman in her bed-chamber.

“The emperor immediately ran to the bell-pull, and rang for the women of the empress. She had ceased to moan since I had first raised her in the upper saloon, and I imagined that she had fainted, until the time of the little difficulty with my sword in the middle of the stairs. As we had no time for arranging our positions, I was obliged to tighten my grasp in order to avoid a fall which might have been fatal to all of us. My arms were round her waist — her back supported by my breast — and her head lying on my right shoulder. When she perceived my endeavors to keep from falling, she whispered, ‘You press me too hard.’ From that moment I felt no apprehensions about her health, and it was evident that she had never lost her recollection for an instant.

“During this whole transaction I was too busy with Josephine to observe Napoleon ; but when the attendants came in, I followed him into a small antechamber adjoining the bed-room. His agitation and uneasiness were excessive. His grief, indeed, disturbed him so much, that he informed me of the cause of all that had passed, in these words. ‘The interests of France and of my dynasty do violence to my heart. Divorce has become a rigorous duty. I am the more afflicted at this scene with Josephine, because she must have heard everything from Hortense three days ago. I deplore with my whole heart the necessity which condemns me to a

separation. I thought she had more firmness, and was by no means prepared for such a paroxysm of grief.' His emotion compelled him to utter these sentences at long intervals; the words were pronounced with difficulty and almost without connection. His voice was faltering and oppressed, and his eyes filled with tears. He must have lost all self-command, or he would never have entered into such details to one so far removed from his councils and his confidence as myself. The whole scene did not last more than seven or eight minutes.

"Napoleon immediately sent for Corvisart, Queen Hortense, Cambacerès and Fouché; but before returning to his own apartment, he made personal inquiries after Josephine, who was calmer and more resigned."

It was easy indeed for him to feel resigned to the blow about to be inflicted upon his best friend, and most faithful companion; and it was equally unreasonable to charge her with weakness, because a complaint escaped her at the fatal crisis. He might have learned from his own experience, that keenness of feeling is the first emotion of surprised pride. His own disorder—the few words of apology stammered out to an inferior attendant—the tears he was unable to restrain—were at least as much astonishing, as that Josephine should exhibit in her grief the weakness of a woman, rather than the dignity of a sovereign. It is true that the unhappy empress had been already led to expect this afflicting communication; but the instructions of Napoleon, given as well to prevent his own embarrassment, as out of consideration for Josephine, had been but imperfectly fulfilled. Hortense was selected as the natural mediatrix, because, as she was endeared by the closest ties of blood, she could best employ the affectionate stratagems and soothing address, so necessary to prepare her mother for her calamity. But the same feelings prevented her complete co-operation; for in the proposed measure, she could see neither propriety nor necessity, while her filial affection and queenly pride pointed out all its injustice and

caprice. The confidence of the emperor was to her a misfortune ; and her heart would have broken had it been required that she should declare the imperial will abruptly to her mother. A few distant allusions and equivocal expressions, which were all she could bring herself to utter, fulfilled the strict commands of duty ; after these, it was but just that the first cause of all the evil, should bear the punishment of announcing its approach, and sustaining the first burst of sorrow or anger produced by the sad intelligence.

The liveliness of Josephine's grief was displayed in all her sentiments and expressions. The invincible goodness of her heart recalled the many ties that united her to the emperor, at the very moment when they were about to be eternally severed. Her least regret was for her throne : it was the loss of her husband, so warmly admired and so truly loved—that excited the keenest and most enduring affliction. Not content, however, with practising herself the duties of gratitude and submission, she enjoined and enforced them upon her children. Young and strongly attached to their mother, they felt themselves injured by the blow directed against her rights. This exalted filial piety, justified by natural affection, was pardonable even in the eyes of reason and policy.

Josephine was the true and only link of connection between Napoleon and her children : after her divorce, their natural relation towards him was inferior to that of collateral relatives. The crown of Italy, which had been promised to Eugene, was lost beyond all hope, when the emperor could look forward to heirs of his own blood. The situation of Hortense was in no wise more favorable. Her condition as the wife of Napoleon's brother seemed a feeble bond of union, when that brother already tottered on his throne, and when every day increased his estrangement from his consort. It was therefore excusable in the brother and sister, if they wished to resign the grandeur already half lost by the divorce of their mother, and to become the companions of her retirement, and the sharers of her obscurity. Josephine moderated

these transports of feeling ; she excused the conduct of Napoleon, reminded them of their obligations to his favor, and commanded implicit obedience to the will of him, who was to them a father and a sovereign. Their sacrifice was in the highest degree meritorious. What could be more painful, after they had left their weeping mother, than to mingle in all the pomp of a second marriage—to see a haughty stranger seated on the throne of Josephine—to gaze upon the throng of servile courtiers crowding around this new object of adulation—and to acknowledge a mistress, when they had forgotten their condition as subjects, in the honored title of children of the empress ?

In every ceremony requiring his presence, Eugene was distinguished for his dignified behavior. His countenance, usually mild and smiling, had become grave and serious, strongly expressive of internal distress, restrained by pride, honor, and the obligations of the occasion. He was a *man* ; but the feminine weakness of his sister was unequal to a similar exertion. Four queens bore the imperial train of Maria Louisa, as she approached the nuptial altar : Hortense, one of the four, wept bitterly as she followed the new bride of Napoleon, and when the fatal *Yes* was pronounced that separated him forever from her mother, she uttered a loud shriek and became insensible. When this tribute to nature and her sex had been thus paid, she recovered all her native strength of character, and the lofty bearing befitting her rank.

Josephine practised in its fullest extent the generous moderation she inculcated on her children. It was in her power to have interposed serious obstacles in the way of Napoleon's marriage, by means of the religious scruples of Maria Louisa, who, from her education in a bigoted court, evinced a strong repugnance to become the wife of one whose former union was still unbroken in its sacramental obligation. The new bride had received assurances that Napoleon's first marriage was a mere civil ceremony ; but she refused to trust any other

authority than that of Josephine herself. The Duke of Rovigo has stated in his Memoirs, that Napoleon had never espoused Josephine in church : in this assertion he has only repeated the rumor which he and many others had most probably been ordered to spread at the time of the divorce, but it is not, on that account, the less untrue. Every religious rite had been fulfilled, and, strange as it may appear, twice instead of once. The first time the ceremony was performed by a parish priest ; afterwards, a few days before the coronation, in consequence of some informalities discovered by the cardinal delegated by the pope, the nuptial benediction was repeated by himself in the chapel of the Tuilleries : Duroc and Eugene were two of the witnesses present. The cardinal subsequently, at the request of Josephine, signed a certificate, declaring the reality and validity of her religious marriage ; but no use was made of this powerful weapon. The will of a husband who deserted her, was respected, and an equivocal reply, involving no direct violation of the truth, quieted all the scruples of Maria Louisa. She was requested to refer to the Moniteur ; when Josephine well knew that Napoleon had thought it inexpedient to publish in that journal, his deference for the wishes of the pope and the cardinal.

In separating for ever from her consort, Josephine sought the sad satisfaction of writing her farewell, and of giving him for the last time those counsels, which he had always followed with advantage. From such a letter it was impossible to exclude every expression of conjugal and maternal grief ; but it is to the foresight, rather than to the sorrow of Josephine, that we must ascribe the prophetic foreboding of evil, so soon to be realized. We here insert this interesting document.

“ My forebodings are realized ! you have pronounced the word which separates us for ever ; the rest is nothing more than mere formality. This, then, is the consummation, I will not say of all my sacrifices,—they cost me nothing since they were made for you,—but of my unbounded attachment, and of your own most solemn obligations. If the policy which

you allege as a reason should prove successful, I should not complain, but policy is a mere pretext. It is to your mistaken ambition that I am sacrificed — to that ambition which has guided your whole career, which has led you to conquest, elevated you to empire, and now hurries you onward to disaster and defeat.

“You speak of mighty alliances, of giving an heir to the empire, of founding a new dynasty; but with whom is this alliance to be formed? With the deceitful house of Austria, the sworn enemy of France; a family which detests us from feeling, from system, and from necessity. Do you believe that this hatred, so often displayed within the last half century, has not been transferred from the Bourbons to the empire? Or do you suppose that the children of the able Maria Theresa, who purchased from Madame de Pompadour the fatal treaty of 1756, which you cannot even mention without a shudder — do you suppose that her posterity have not inherited her spirit as well as her dominion? I only repeat what you have told me a hundred times when your ambition was satisfied with humiliating a power which it now seeks to restore. Believe me, as long as you are master of Europe, you will find her your slave; but beware of a reverse!

“You wish, however, an heir. Even though as a mother, I should appear partial in speaking of a son who is all my delight, and used to be your hope — can I or ought I to be silent? The adoption of the 12th of January, 1806, was then another political falsehood: but there is no deception in the virtues and talents of my Eugene. How often have you yourself praised them! Praised them! you have endeavored to recompense them with a throne, while you confessed that the reward was inferior to his merits. All France has echoed these sentiments, but what are the wishes of France? I do not speak of my successor, and you can hardly expect it, when all I could say of her would appear suspicious. There can be no suspicion as to my prayer for your happiness,

which alone can now console me. Ah! how great will that happiness be, if it equals my sorrow.”

The king of Holland entertained a sincere friendship for Josephine, and was deeply grieved at the divorce, yet he was very near following the example of Napoleon. The time had not come, when he could venture to solicit openly for a dissolution of his marriage, but he wished to add the sanction of the law to the actual separation existing between himself and his queen. The health of both parties was, in point of fact, much impaired; the true motive, however, was to be sought in their discordant tempers. During the whole period of his late residence in Paris, Louis had never seen the queen, except on those public occasions when a meeting was rendered unavoidable by the rules of etiquette. On his arrival from Holland, he had repaired immediately to his mother's residence, instead of proceeding to his own palace, which was occupied by Hortense. After all this coldness, he expressed a desire for her return to Amsterdam; and she conceived herself obliged by duty to comply with all his wishes. He was unfortunate; his kingdom was menaced by the imperial armies; and the winning manners, amiability and address of the queen, might prove extremely useful in encouraging his dispirited subjects, and in preserving to the last moment their wavering allegiance.

The experience of a few weeks satisfied Hortense that she had flattered herself with a vain illusion. In private, the behaviour of the king had undergone no change, and he soon found the public observance of appearances, an intolerable constraint. Indifference, discord, and misunderstanding became too apparent, and alike annoyed and afflicted the people and their courtiers, the French and the Dutch. Hortense was soon convinced that her presence could be more useful to her mother than to her husband. Under pretext of ill health, she removed for a few days to the royal castle of Leu; and thence, without the least intimation to the king, she set out for France.

It is said that Louis was somewhat piqued when he heard of this departure, either on account of the contempt displayed for his authority, or because he really entertained the plan, asserted by some, of compelling the queen to reside in his dominions. This latter supposition is highly improbable. The justice and humanity of Louis, himself so severe a sufferer by state policy, could scarcely have inflicted the same wrongs upon a neglected wife. Still, however, the best and most reasonable are often inconsistent: and we are seldom governed ourselves by the same rigid morality which influences our judgment of the conduct of others. A rigid supporter of political necessity, Napoleon himself has censured the behaviour of Hortense, and her little inclination to remain with her husband. In the memorial of St. Helena it is said that "Josephine constantly professed submission, devotion, and the most unbounded complaisance. She frequently blamed and reproved her daughter Hortense and her niece Stephanie, who lived on bad terms with their husbands, exhibited caprice, and affected a sort of independence." In another place he says, "Hortense, with all her goodness and generosity, was not without fault in her behaviour to her husband; this I must admit, notwithstanding the affection I bear her, and the real attachment which I know she feels for me. However eccentric and disagreeable Louis may have been, he undoubtedly loved her; and every woman, under such circumstances, and with equally important calls, ought to know how to restrain her feelings and even to love in return. Had she possessed this self-command, the vexation of her late law suit would have been spared and her life rendered happier. If she had accompanied Louis to Holland, he would never have quitted Amsterdam, nor should I have been compelled to take possession of his kingdom, a measure which contributed greatly to ruin me in Europe, and thus many events might have taken a different turn."

Napoleon must have been strangely disposed to ascribe great results to trifling causes, if he really imagined the union



of Holland and France to have been the consequence, either of the discord of Louis and his consort, or of the indifference of Hortense for her husband. If this was his true belief, why had he not commanded them to sacrifice their mutual dislike? His will had certainly worked greater miracles than this. The truth is, that the emperor never occupied himself seriously with these family dissensions; and all three perfectly understood their relative positions. Louis had adopted the only reasonable line of policy; his wife admired his conduct, even while lamenting the inevitable rupture with Napoleon, and had she idolized her husband she could never have advised him to other measures. The policy of the emperor was wholly independent of mere domestic relations. In giving up to the bent, or perhaps to the caprice of their dispositions, Louis and Hortense endangered nothing but their individual happiness; all the rest depended on the destiny, or rather on the ambition of Napoleon. It was no doubt through a singular modesty that he preferred seeking in others, those causes of action which existed only in himself. With Louis, the great misfortune was not so much the alleged indifference of his consort, as his own inability to stand in comparison with the lofty genius of his brother. That same genius which conquers kingdoms, subjects nations, creates monarchies, and legislates for an empire, possesses in everything a supernatural energy. It rules the hearts of women, as despotically as the reason and courage of men. To his family the emperor was fond and affectionate; had he been savage and brutal, still Josephine would have ever shown mildness, submission, and love. Fortune had dealt hardly by Louis: his character was unamiable, and he wanted the commanding mind of Napoleon. But, alas! genius is often a fatality.

Josephine retained, after her divorce, the title of empress, with a fortune and household befitting her dignity. Her retirement still bore the appearance of a court; differing only in the less strict observance of etiquette and in the diminished attendance of courtiers, but atoning in freedom from restraint

and in general kindness, for the want of magnificence and ceremony. The pleasures of a circle of intimate friends are certainly the best consolations for the loss of power; and Josephine having full liberty to travel, enjoyed the additional advantage of carrying all her society along with her. On these expeditions, liberty increased in direct proportion to the distance from the capital. She chiefly resided at her country seats, Malmaison and Navarre, though sometimes more distant journeys were undertaken. On one occasion she even went as far as Geneva, where the viceroy of Italy and his queen came from Milan to visit her. Hortense, who was always with her mother, made one of the party on this occasion. She wished, while in the vicinity of Savoy, to drink the celebrated waters of Aix, which had been recommended for the restoration of her health, then very precarious, and attended with a kind of morbid melancholy.

Her faithful friend, Madame de Broc, followed her to Aix. They frequently amused themselves with long walks in this picturesque and extraordinary region, where every excursion, every fresh step, seemed to unfold additional objects of admiration. The wonders of nature are always enhanced by sentiment, and we discover new beauties in a magnificent prospect when we view it in the company of those we love. Hortense felt this pleasure the more keenly, as landscape painting was one of the branches of art in which she particularly excelled.

The two friends, one day, attempted the ascent of a mountain which promised to afford a magnificent and unbounded prospect. To reach the summit it was necessary to cross a deep ravine, apparently torn open by some terrible convulsion. The darkness of the abyss was rather increased than concealed by the alpine firs scattered along its sides; while below, a rapid torrent rolled noisily along. The gloomy sublimity of the whole scene struck the vivid imagination of Hortense, and she remained for a moment in silent admiration. Her

deep feelings were too soon to be wounded by a more real horror.

Their guides had hastily laid a narrow plank across the chasm as a bridge. Hortense, who first made the attempt, crossed with a firm, light step, and in perfect safety. Madame de Broc ventured in her turn. A sudden crash is heard, followed by a piercing shriek — Hortense turns and rushes to the brink, the plank had given way, and she sees the body of her unhappy friend, shooting from rock to rock, and overwhelmed at last in the waters of the torrent. There were no ropes at hand, and no ladder could have been long enough to reach the foot of the precipice. The guides never doubted her fate for an instant; death was inevitable, and it was scarcely even to be hoped that the mutilated corpse might be carried far into the valley, and deposited where the care of friends could recover it for the last sad funeral rites. Overwhelmed with grief, Hortense lost every thought of her own escape from a similar fate in traversing the same frail plank. Her situation was really alarming, and the guides were obliged to lay hastily a stronger bridge and to cross to her assistance. Her oldest friend, she who had shared every wish and soothed all her sorrows, was thus torn from her by a sudden and fearful death. It was the most terrible shock sustained by Hortense, since the loss of her eldest son. When time and care had in some degree restored her to health, she sought to divert her grief by her customary occupations of beneficence. She founded a hospital at Aix, and devoted a great portion of each day to the distribution of money and medicine to its sick or indigent inmates; accompanying her gifts with those kind expressions, which render charity yet more welcome and more efficacious.

At length the hurricane which had been so long and so ominously gathering, burst in its full fury upon France. Every day announced to Napoleon the defection of an ancient ally, and every day the ranks of his enemies were swelled by the diminution of his own forces. The utmost prodigies of

valor were unable to save his country from invasion, and the capital itself was threatened by the hostile armies.

Hortense, who had promptly returned to her mother at Navarre, read with painful anxiety the bulletins of the French army, and listened eagerly to the reports of the expresses. The unhappy Josephine, more attached to her husband now that fortune was false, shed bitter tears over the sad fulfilment of her predictions. At length she received despatches from a sovereign, who had once courted the friendship of Napoleon, and had deemed himself honored when treated as his equal. Times had indeed altered : we characterize the change almost in a word, when we add that the wife and daughter of the emperor were reduced to avail themselves of his protection as an enemy and a conqueror. Paris had capitulated : the armies of the allies were encamped in her squares, and their chiefs lodged in her palaces : while Napoleon, with his forces reduced to a handful of veterans, had abdicated the throne at Fontainbleau, and was retiring to his empire of Elba.

In the letter of Alexander, the language of a victor was studiously disguised under the forms of the most delicate courtesy. He was so anxious to see the empress Josephine and her daughter, that he entreated them to return to Malmaison, unless they preferred receiving an early visit at Navarre. As an acknowledgement of this politeness, the mother set out immediately : but Hortense had duties to perform towards Maria Louisa, whom she still regarded as her sovereign. The powerful protection tendered to her mother, removed all anxiety on that account ; and it was therefore incumbent on her to calm the apprehensions and share the perils of the second consort of Napoleon. She accordingly repaired to Rambouillet, where Maria Louisa, guarded by the forces of the coalition, was awaiting her future lot. It was speedily determined ; and when she had set out for Vienna with an Austrian escort, Hortense returned to her mother at Malmaison. Here Josephine appeared to have revived her ancient court of the Tuilleries. The more inti-

mately she became known to the allied monarchs, the more she was admired and respected; and the arrival of her daughter increased the attentions of these illustrious visitors. Grace and amiability were hereditary in this family; their triumphs were surer, milder, and more rapid than the conquests of Napoleon.

The solicitude of the allied monarchs for the future welfare of Hortense, was an immediate consequence of the interest she had inspired. "Remark," said they, "with what ease an enlightened people can abandon a chief who has raised them to such a pitch of power and glory. The military alone exhibit the least regret: all the rest rejoice in the change, though it is impossible for them to foresee its results. Observe all those courtiers eagerly crowding about the restored dynasty! But yesterday, they were prodigal of the most solemn oaths of attachment to Napoleon: to-day, they pretend to have always hated and despised him, and win new titles to favor by bitter and scandalous libels against their fallen master. Believe us, princess, all the rare and noble endowments which Heaven has lavished on you, will not suffice to fix the affections of the people: a power superior to the storms of revolutions, is the only safeguard against their fickleness and inconstancy." Her august friends pressed her with these reasons to accept an independent sovereignty.

The philosophy of Hortense had been acquired in the school of misfortune, but it bore no similarity to that inculcated by these clear sighted sovereigns. The obscurity of retirement seemed to her a yet safer asylum against the revolutions of kingdoms and the caprices of the people: but she had children, born in the purple, and brought up amidst the homage and respect of the highest dignitaries of the empire. The first impressions of education exercise an unconquerable influence over all the actions of life: those to whom grandeur was a birthright, can never endure mediocrity or obscurity, unless endowed with more greatness of soul than commonly falls to the lot of mortals. Hortense, therefore, yielded to

the dictates of maternal tenderness, in accepting for her children what was to her a subject of indifference; but she still displayed her moderation, in taking much less than had been originally offered. At the request of the allied sovereigns, Louis XVIII. erected St. Leu into a duchy for her advantage, with the right of inheritance vested in her children.

The allied monarchs were equally anxious to confer a similar favor upon Josephine. She thanked them, but constantly refused; with an indifference to power that seemed almost a presentiment of the early fate which removed her from her children and her friends. Her health had been so deeply undermined by the shock and affliction caused by the overthrow of the empire, that an indisposition, apparently trifling, became serious, and in a few days terminated in death. The spring is always damp at Paris; but Malmaison, the empress's residence, being situated on the northern face of a hill and surrounded with woods, has more than its share of the general humidity. Josephine had been confined to her bed for several days, by an attack of sore throat. The king of Prussia paid her a visit to inquire after her health, and she imagined herself sufficiently well to rise and receive him. Alarming symptoms appeared the same evening; the next day, the best of women, the mildest of queens, and the most affectionate of mothers and wives ceased to exist.

It was now the second of June, 1814: during four days, heaven, earth, and mankind, had been alike sad: for four days had elapsed since the death of Josephine had deprived humanity of its ornament and poverty of its protectress. Every road from Paris to Ruel and its environs was crowded with trains of mourners. The indigent were not here alone—there are other misfortunes besides poverty. Sad groups thronged all the avenues, and I could distinguish tears even in the splendid equipages which came rattling across the court yard.

From the fatal day of Josephine's death, until the 2d of June, the time appointed for the funeral, more than twenty

thousand persons beheld her for the last time. I do not include the inquisitive stragglers, who availed themselves of this opportunity to obtain a sight of Malmaison; and who, after making a slight obeisance to the state-bed, immediately inquired the way to the great Conservatory, or went off laughing to tease the wild beasts. A far greater number came to weep over the body of the empress, and kneeling, to offer their prayers for the repose of her soul. They visited with veneration the shrubberies she had planted, the fields she had tilled, and the plants watered by her own hands: while admiring her works, they seemed to enjoy a secret pleasure, in the very increase of regret. The young girls who had repaired to the melancholy spot, wept bitterly when they remembered the happy marriages of their associates, for whom the kindness of the empress had removed the opposition of interest. Old men sighed over their lost pensions, and the little enjoyments they had procured: while many a mother shed tears in grateful recollection of the conscript son, restored by the bounty of Josephine, who had removed him from active service, obtained his discharge, or hired the substitute. Even strangers accosted each other to relate some trait honorable to her memory. Grief, the great peace maker, reconciled many enemies on this solemn occasion, when everything was forgotten but the charity of her whom all lamented. Those who spoke of her soon felt the return of mutual kindness, for how could any one refuse forgiveness, near the tomb of her who had pardoned so much? Thus her very memory was as powerful as her presence. The body of Josephine was laid out on a state-bed, surrounded with numerous tapers, in an antechamber leading into the room where she died. The antechamber was hung with black, without cyphers or escutcheons: on the right of the entrance stood an altar, surrounded with chairs and sofas. The face of the corpse was covered with a cambric handkerchief, as it lay under the charge of two officiating clergymen belonging to the neigh-

boring villages, together with the curate of Ruel, and four domestics.

The solemn tolling of the bells of all the neighboring parishes summoned the faithful to pay the tribute of gratitude at the foot of the altar. The funeral took place at noon, with the greatest pomp, in the modest little church of the village of Ruel, belonging to the parish of Malmaison. The pall-bearers were the Grand Duke of Baden, the husband of Stephanie de Beauharnois, Josephine's niece; the Marquis de Beauharnois, brother-in-law to the empress, and formerly ambassador to Spain; her nephew, the Count de Tascher; and, I believe, the Count de Beauharnois, gentleman in waiting of Maria Louisa.

The funeral train left Malmaison by the iron gate, and followed the high road as far as Ruel. General Sacken, who represented the emperor of Russia, and the adjutant-general of the king of Prussia, on the part of his master, walked on foot at the head of the procession, followed by a number of foreign princes, marshals of France, generals, and other French officers. Then came the banners of the various trades of the parish, with twenty young girls in white, chanting psalms: while two thousand mendicants of all ages brought up the rear. The whole route was lined with Russian hussars, and the National Guards.

General Sacken was the bearer of a message from his sovereign, to the relatives of the empress assembled at Malmaison, expressing his wish to devote the thirty-six hours he had yet to remain in Paris, exclusively to the *excellent prince Eugene* and his sister, as a testimony of deep affliction at the death of her majesty. The emperor, in fact, never quitted them until he set out for his dominions.

Upwards of four thousand inhabitants of the neighboring districts, are understood to have assembled for the purpose of paying a parting homage to the memory of a princess, who had so justly earned the title of mother of the poor and of the afflicted. Mass was celebrated by M. de Barrel, arch



bishop of Tours, her chief almoner, assisted by the bishops of Evreux and Versailles : after the gospel, he pronounced a short but affecting funeral oration.

The body of Josephine<sup>1</sup> was placed in a leaden coffin, enclosed in one of wood, which was temporarily deposited in that part of the cemetery containing the remains of three hundred persons crushed to death in the Rue Royale, in returning from the exhibition of fire-works, in the Place Louis XV. in honor of the marriage of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette.

On reaching the burial-ground, Hortense, who had previously remained in one of the chapels of the church of Ruel, threw herself upon her mother's grave, to which she clung as if distracted, until forcibly removed from the melancholy spot.

The ceremonies lasted until five o'clock in the evening. The whole household of the illustrious deceased were bathed in tears ; many strangers who were present, and who had only become acquainted with her since the restoration, wept in common with those whom she had blessed or comforted.

I had no wish to witness this spectacle : it was melancholy, with no accompanying consolation. Whilst the general sorrow was publicly expressed, mine was indulged in a different manner. I wandered among bowers planted by the hands of Josephine herself, and through their branches I looked out upon the fields she had cultivated and the cottages she had built. Even this sad delight, and the very shade which sheltered me, were all her work. Near me on the road,

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<sup>1</sup> The body of Josephine reposes under a magnificent tomb of white marble, erected by her children. She is represented in her imperial robes, kneeling, and apparently praying for the welfare of France. "Eugene and Hortense to Josephine," is the only inscription. This beautiful monument stands in a side chapel, and is the work of that excellent sculptor, M. Cartelier. I cannot tell whether criticism has ever discovered any fault : I have wept too often over that statue not to believe it perfect. — *Count de la Garde.*

and far across the fields, crowds were hurrying towards Malmaison and Ruel, whilst others were on the return. They met and exchanged a few words : the young girls shed tears, and then went mourning on their way. Sometimes I caught disjointed sentences borne to me by the wind : in all, the name of Josephine was pronounced by gratitude, and her charity commemorated by sorrow.

Above the confused noises which re-echoed over the plain, came the sullen tolling of the bells, and every breeze seemed charged with their endless peals. To me, the wearisome monotony of the chiming brass, which knells alike for the good and the wicked, has ever appeared ill-omened. I strove to divert my attention by listening to the twittering of the birds : their concerts were occasionally interrupted, but they recommenced their songs with more subdued notes ; and there was something soothing in the sad thought, that from the very bench where I was then seated, Josephine had a thousand times enjoyed their music.

The brightness of the day was obscured by dark clouds when I arrived at the church. It was hung with mourning for its departed benefactress. When a crowned head falls at the feet of death, vanity raises the diadem to decorate a coffin : here there was no pomp, no proud epitaph, but in the midst of tears and sighs, a thousand voices repeated and ever will repeat the name of Josephine.

To the name of one so dear and who soothed so many sorrows, gratitude would willingly add two more, which a prudent sorrow, it is said, should carefully suppress. On this subject I am equally ignorant and indifferent. I can only say that grateful remembrance acknowledges no other guide than the dictates of affection, and that Eugene and Hortense are invoked alike with the cherished memory of Josephine. Can there be any so unfeeling as to imagine tears formidable, or to consider grief a crime ? Sorrow never conspires.

The following portrait of Josephine is from the pen of an intimate friend. Several years before a sudden turn of the

wheel of fortune had raised her to a throne, she had attained the utmost perfection of what was called her beauty: yet she was never strictly beautiful, if to entitle a woman to that distinction, regularity of feature must be added to nobleness and elegance. A countenance animated by intelligence, and especially by feeling, is far more captivating than the cold perfection and symmetry so prized by artists in the models of antiquity. To these charms Josephine had no claim; but every emotion of her mind was forcibly and rapidly depicted by the ever varying expression of her fascinating face. It was the mirror of her heart, adorned by every grace, and reflecting that general benevolence, which seeks in every suffering creature another subject for consolation and relief.

Her benevolence, the leading trait in her character, was in truth universal. The same hand which lavished bounties without stint and sometimes without reflection, caressed a suffering animal, or sought to revive, by cultivation, a withered and drooping plant. Her feelings of charity suffered no change from the vicissitudes of fortune. When almost indigent at Fontainebleau, a strict economy enabled her to assist others yet more destitute than herself; while as an empress and a sovereign, her benevolence became as splendid as her prosperity.

A heart so affectionate was indeed worthy of affection. When imperial France in the pride of victory beheld captive Europe at her feet, she bestowed on Napoleon the title of "great:" a medal struck to Josephine the beneficent, proclaims the milder fame of the empress. Except Stanislaus and herself, I know but few sovereigns who have been tempted to deserve a similar surname — one, indeed, not to be gained by pensions heaped upon the minions of a court, but by acts of heavenly charity, done in the cottage of the poor, and near the sick bed of the unfortunate.

Such is a brief sketch of all that will survive of Josephine — the envelope of so pure a soul may be described in a few words. It is pleasing to see a woman at once estimable and

beautiful, and I have already said that in either point of view there was nothing wanting in Josephine. Voltaire himself, like the court poets who were the plagiarists of his panegyric, would have applied to her, as he did to the Marchioness de Villette, the famous epithet of Fair and Good.

Her figure was of the ordinary height, but beautifully modelled. Every motion was marked by that pliant ease which was equally suited to the graceful attitude which painters love to represent in Venus, or to the dignified demeanor befitting the majesty of a queen. A constant changefulness gave to her countenance, even when agitated by sorrow, an expression ever new and always attractive. Her eyes were large, deep blue, and shaded by slightly curved eye-lashes: the color of her hair, between dark and light, harmonized exactly with the tint of her complexion. All who have heard Josephine converse, and especially those who were so fortunate as to hear her sing, must preserve a pleasing remembrance of the soft and winning tones of her voice. Without much compass and almost without art, (although she was a good musician,) the sounds possessed that tremulous melody which chords so well with the feelings of the listener. The notes were scarcely above mediocrity, but the accents came from the heart and found the heart. While she was seated on the throne, her performance on the harp and piano was the theme of universal praise: it is true, however, that there are few queens, who, at least in their lives, have not enjoyed a reputation for virtue and talent. The abilities of Josephine appeared perhaps to less advantage in the empress than in Madame Bonaparte; but on the other hand, none could surpass the virtues she displayed in imperial sovereignty.

Besides these agreeable accomplishments, Josephine possessed more solid acquirements. She understood botany thoroughly; her taste for this favorite study erected the magnificent conservatories of Malmaison, which honor her memory almost as much as her pensions to the indigent. When her divorce had dispelled the magic dream of power,

and an abdication had exhibited the vanity of greatness, she found consolation in the sight of her beautiful exotics, warmed, even in exile, by their native sun. The imperial purple was replaced by a plain dress of muslin; while the brow which once had glittered with royal jewels was still crowned, but it was now with a simple diadem of roses and violets.

At the first intelligence of his mother's illness, Eugene set out instantly from Munich, where he had been welcomed by his father-in-law, the king of Bavaria; but he arrived only in time to pay her the last honors, and to weep with Hortense over her tomb. We shall not attempt to describe their affliction. As a mother, no one was ever more affectionate than Josephine, or more deserving of love; as children, Hortense and Eugene were every way worthy of their parent, and none could feel more deeply a similar calamity.

As etiquette required the son-in-law of a reigning monarch to wait on the king of France in passing through Paris, Eugene paid a visit to Louis XVIII., after the expiration of the time prescribed for the observances of grief. He was unwilling on this occasion, either to style himself a German prince, or to assume any title recalling the days of the empire: with characteristic modesty and true French feeling he was therefore simply announced as General Beauharnois. He expressed his thanks to the king for the kind treatment extended to his mother by the allied monarchs, and for the favors they had conferred upon his sister.

Hortense was under a still greater obligation of gratitude towards Louis, and she consequently paid her respects to him on quitting her mourning. Both parties to this interview enjoyed a great reputation for conversational talent, although the style of each was extremely different. The wit of the king was academic, and its far-fetched refinement was constantly perceptible through the formal politeness of a court. Hortense, on the contrary, is ever frank and unaffected: her sensibility lends its hue to every thought, and her goodness

of heart is expressed in every sentiment. The labor of display and the coquetry were all on the part of the king, for Hortense had only to be herself to triumph in this little contest. Louis, however, acquired some advantage, from his loud commendation of the merit of the princess with whom he had thus become acquainted. In a Bourbon, this praise of a member of the imperial family was almost magnanimity; but while full justice was rendered him for the feeling, the courtiers and Parisians took care to add that he had turned a rank Bonapartist.

The discontent of the partisans of Napoleon at the conduct of Hortense, though more suppressed, was much more enduring. They admitted no excuse for her visit to the king, for they could never forgive its reason. The article in the treaty of Fontainebleau, erecting the Duchy of St. Leu, was to them conclusive proof that the daughter of Napoleon wished to separate herself from the cause, and even from the remembrance of her father: they would never listen to the real motives we have already explained. Party spirit is strangely inconsistent: its approbation or its silence must be purchased by sacrifices, and yet these are only rewarded with obscurity and contempt.

Louis Napoleon was by no means the last to attack the conduct of Hortense: perhaps, indeed, he was only taking advantage of her present unpopularity, to realize a scheme projected long before. A formal separation from bed and board already existed: he now claimed the possession of his eldest son—a claim of course refused by Hortense. The affair was referred to a legal tribunal, where it was still pending, when the news reached Paris of the landing of Napoleon at Cannes. We may easily imagine that under such circumstances, all farther proceedings were suspended. The great arbiter soon arrived in his capital.

Napoleon, hailed everywhere by the people, and by the very troops despatched to oppose him, had reconquered France in traversing it: on the 20th March, 1815, without

striking a blow, he took possession of the Tuilleries. Hortense immediately requested an interview; moved by affection for her adopted father, and anxiety to dispel the prejudices raised against her in his mind. The emperor at first refused to see her, but she persisted in her demand, feeling that every embarrassment would be well compensated by an interview with a beloved relative. Napoleon at length received her; but it was with that stern look, severe eye, and frowning brow—with that aspect of Jupiter Tonans—which inspired more terror than even the reproaches pronounced by his lips. Strong in conscious innocence, the queen listened without impatience, and vindicated herself without difficulty. Napoleon at length became convinced that there was no treachery in submission to events which could neither be foreseen nor controlled—no defection in natural anxiety for the welfare of her children, and in a residence in France when assured of a harsh reception everywhere else. He admitted that to return civility for kindness was not a fault—that there was no crime in showing gratitude to sovereigns who had given protection, when they might have exercised injustice and tyranny without a possibility of resistance or escape. In political revolutions, the obligations of a mother and a woman are far different from those of a man. The firmness of the latter, supported by native energy of mind and body, is recompensed by glory; while none but milder duties remain to the humble and modest female.

Louis Napoleon abstained from a personal appearance as the adversary of his consort; contenting himself with despatching an envoy from Rome with full powers. His deep anxiety was declared for a complete reconciliation with his brother, whom he had never seen since the abdication of the crown of Holland; but the condition was annexed that a divorce from his wife should be permitted. As divorces had been formally abolished in 1814, the tribunal having cognisance of the suit for the possession of his eldest son, could entertain no proceedings of that nature: he believed this, however, an

excellent opportunity for the complete execution of his favorite project. The emperor received the individual charged with this mission, in a manner worthy of himself. "Let Louis," said he, "come when he will : he shall be well received, for he is my brother. As for his divorce, it is a mere whim, which I could not indulge even if our family contract was not diametrically opposed to it." Louis remained at Rome.

As soon as Hortense had regained the esteem and affections of her father, she renewed her ancient habits of benevolence under the sanction of imperial authority. The Duchess of Orleans, a princess of the blood-royal, had broken a limb in attempting a precipitate flight from Paris on the arrival of the emperor. The solicitations of Hortense procured a permission for her residence in the capital, with a pension suitable to the high station she had lost ; and under the same auspices, a like favor was accorded to her daughter the Duchess of Bourbon. She interceded much longer, though with unequal success, for a less illustrious personage, the Baron de Vitrolles. His only crime was that of ardent devotion to an unfortunate family ; and the emperor could now, better than any one else, appreciate the merit of such an attachment ; but he knew also that the baron had other claims to the gratitude of the Bourbons, and he was deaf to all the entreaties of Hortense.

The news of the return of Napoleon startled the congress assembled at Vienna to partition his empire. A strong protest, issued against his fresh occupation of the throne, was followed by the immediate march of the armies of the allies. The troops of Prussia and the English forces occupying Belgium, from their proximity to France, naturally formed the vanguard of the coalition. Napoleon hastily assembled an army, which was less formidable from its numbers than from the ability and fame of the leader. By rapid marches, the junction of the Prussians and English was anticipated, and victory smiled for an instant before departing for ever. The fatal rout of Waterloo then hurried along Napoleon and the



wrecks of his guard, involving infantry, cavalry, artillery, and baggage, in one mass of hopeless confusion. Many officers and soldiers perished by their own hands, rather than survive so fearful a disaster. Great numbers of the wounded were preserved from Prussian barbarity by the humanity and friendship of the Belgians. The despair of the survivors who followed the retreat of Napoleon towards Paris, can only be compared to the glory they had won from the commencement of the battle until the close of the day. They resembled a funeral procession, as they stole silently from that bloody field which had twice resounded with their shout of victory. Every French soldier seemed a hero weeping over his country and her triumphs. The staff reached Jemappes, where a vain attempt was made to rally the means of defence. The very carriage of Napoleon had been lost, and a small wagon bore the victim of Waterloo to Philippeville, where he found the equipage of Marshal Soult. He entered a caleche with General Bertrand, who was destined never to leave him, until he had closed his eyes at the distance of three thousand miles from France.

The allies had gained a great battle; but this first tremendous disaster might yet have been repaired, had Napoleon found followers at Paris sincerely disposed to second his exertions. Fouché, however, whom he had imprudently created a minister, busily excited the partisans of the Bourbons: while on the other hand the representative chamber, jealous of the emperor's authority, thwarted all his measures, assumed the supreme control, and engaged in interminable debates while the enemy were at the very gates of the capital. The republican opposition was strengthened by a great body of royalists, who were not long in throwing off the mask. Napoleon was forced to a second abdication far more painful than the first; for it was now his own subjects who hurled him from the throne, and threatened his very existence. A rapid succession of political concussions had awakened all

those evil passions, which in times of anarchy always rage without restraint.

The emperor, after laying down his authority, retired to Malmaison. The provisional government, to whom he was yet formidable, converted his asylum into a prison, and appointed a jailor in the person of General Beker, an officer who owed his rank to Napoleon, and discharged the painful duties imposed on him with all possible respect for his former master. He was consoled by the reflection, that in fulfilling the instructions of the provisional government, he in reality protected the emperor from attempts upon his life. There was now this singular difference between Malmaison and other prisons, that it was more difficult to enter than to leave it.

The gates opened, however, to admit Hortense, or rather she arrived at the same time with the illustrious captive. If Napoleon had not already appreciated her unbounded kindness and affection, he had here abundant proof of their existence and sincerity. Could anything have enabled him to forget the extent of his misfortunes, or have interrupted the sad current of reflection on his own probable fate, and the future destinies of France, it must have been the presence of this angelic woman. Her ingenuity was unceasingly employed in devising new amusements to divert his mind; her compassion found tears for irremediable evils; her sympathy shared the weight of affliction; while her enthusiasm roused his genius, by pointing to the glorious perspective, when his exploits would be recorded in the brightest pages of history for the admiration of all posterity.

Hortense would certainly have been excusable if she had directed a portion of this admiration to herself: she might justly have been proud of the unbounded self-devotion exhibited in defiance of the enemies of her family, who were sure to seek everywhere new food for their unmanly calumnies. The infamous libels in which these slanders were circulated, had been published after the first restoration, and must have been known to Hortense. She probably considered them

unworthy of notice, for she was ever faithful to the motto of the arms of Holland, — “Do right, come what may.”

The moment of lasting separation at length arrived. Forced to abandon France, Napoleon set out from Malmaison for Rochefort, in order to embark upon that ocean which was to bear him he knew not whither. Neither Hortense nor himself could possibly conjecture his destiny; and this uncertainty alone was sufficient to render their parting deeply afflicting: how much more painful would it have been, could the queen have pictured to herself her father falling into the hands of his enemies, and perishing by a lingering martyrdom of five years, in a dreadful climate, on a little rock lost in the midst of the African ocean.

The second restoration took place. The government, filled with old rancor and new exasperation, announced openly a bloody retribution; while its gloomy distrust seemed to increase with the severity of its measures. Hortense was included in the circle of suspicion: she was accused of planning and directing all the Bonapartist contrivances, though they really originated in the department of police. The administration, hypocritical in its justice and cowardly in its cruelty, got up daily some new conspiracy, as a pretext for oppression, and in order to involve the secret friends of the imperial sway. Injustice and suspicion are the proper attributes of weak and short-sighted rulers. Napoleon landed at Cannes — Hortense could alone have planned his return: he had traversed France, hurrying the whole nation in his train — Hortense must have poured out the treasures of corruption: his concealed partisans were now promoting everywhere rebellious disturbances — it was still the mysterious power of Hortense that encouraged and directed sedition. The same absurdity marked the behavior of the congress of Vienna towards Eugene, a prince eminently distinguished for his frank and honorable conduct. The return of Napoleon and his successes in France, were due neither to the machinations of a prince without power, nor to the weak intrigues of a

woman : instead of ascribing the origin of those great events to such remote and inadequate causes, we must look for it in the shameful conduct of the congress itself towards the people of every nation, and in the counter-revolutionary spirit of the Bourbons and their ministers.

Hortense, now an object of suspicion, received orders to quit France without delay, and she accordingly set out, with her children, from Malmaison, on the 17th of July, 1815. Her travelling companion was Prince Schwartzberg, whose situation was soon converted into that of a protector. When the party arrived at Dijon, they found the municipal authorities resolved to detain the princess as a prisoner. This act was certainly an apparent disobedience to their superiors at Paris, who had granted her a passport ; but perhaps, they were more complaisant in reality than in seeming. In those days of dark machinations, the higher powers frequently entrusted their subalterns with the execution of odious measures, which, officially at least, they affected to disavow. Fortunately for Hortense, this part of Burgundy was occupied by Austrian troops. Prince Schwartzberg immediately introduced himself to the city authorities, and demanded whether he must appeal to his soldiers for leave to proceed without interruption. Such arguments are irresistible, and the travellers reached Geneva without further accident.

The dominion of France was here at an end, but the troubles of Hortense seemed only to recommence. Imprisonment was no longer a subject of apprehension, but the magistracy would suffer neither a residence in the city, nor a prosecution of her journey. It was clear that they wished her to return homeward, where open persecution was likely to be her lot. The Genevese, quite as scrupulous as the French ministry, had no objection to see those vexations inflicted by others, which they were too timid to take upon themselves.

Were such sentiments worthy of proud republicanism ? The union of Geneva to France was their heavy subject of

complaint against the emperor; but they had received the richest compensation. Their country had prospered beyond example: the reputation of her literati was extended by their admission into the institute of Paris: the youth of the canton had gained decorations and glory on the field of victory: titles of nobility had been gladly accepted by the dignitaries of the republic, and the department of the Lemane — a part of the mighty empire of France — enjoyed far higher consideration than the petty State of Geneva — the most insignificant of sovereignties, except its sister commonwealth of San Marino.

If we concede the utmost extent of the alleged injury, it was still wrong to avenge the faults of Napoleon upon an innocent member of his family, and above all, they should never have selected as their victim, a female whose whole life was a continued stream of benevolence, fertilizing all that approached her. It was the same enchanting excellence of character, that now again extricated her from the danger by which she was menaced.

The malice of the authorities of Geneva was exhibited rather in negotiations than in deeds. It was impossible to converse with Hortense for any length of time, without a feeling of devotion to her service; and a short interview converted the most violent of the magistrates into penitent partisans. They assumed the responsibility of authorizing the continuance of her journey to Savoy, and afterwards excused this act of simple justice by specious pretexts of negligence or ignorance.

Hortense at length reached Aix in Savoy, where a friendly reception was extended to her — the first since her departure from Paris. The inhabitants remembered her long stay among them, her liberal charities, and the hospital she had founded and so munificently endowed. If in the course of her travels she had hitherto met nothing but persecution and enmity, here at least were those who had no other sentiments than peaceful kindness and unaffected gratitude. In

treating her with all the respect due to her rank and misfortunes, the magistrates nobly expressed the feelings of the inhabitants. She was invited to remain at Aix, until the allied powers had designated her future residence.

But it was decreed that henceforth her repose should be constantly disturbed. The calm and pleasing aspect of Savoy was suddenly overshadowed by the same melancholy gloom which had passed before her eyes after the tragical end of her dearest friend ; and the remembrance of that terrible calamity was revived by another misfortune, scarcely less afflicting, and wholly unexpected. The suit of Louis Napoleon for the custody of his eldest child, which had been interrupted by the "hundred days," was afterwards resumed and carried to a judgment in his favor. An agent arrived at Aix, furnished with competent legal powers, and the queen was obliged to submit to this cruel decree of separation.

The soul of Hortense had been already steeped in misfortune, but her power of endurance seemed at length exhausted. When she had embraced her son for the last time, and beheld the carriage depart that bore him away, a deep despondency overwhelmed her spirits. Her very existence became a dream, and it seemed indifferent to her whether her lot was to enjoy or to suffer, to depart or to be allowed to remain, to be persecuted, respected, or forgotten. She scarcely noticed the reply of the allied sovereigns, allowing her to reside at Constance ; and gave no orders whatever for her journey. Her attendants were compelled to repeat frequently in her presence the hints of the Savoyard authorities, who were exposed to the ill will of their government by her prolonged residence. Then, indeed, the fear of injuring those from whom she had experienced nothing but kindness, awakened her from her melancholy lethargy.

She traversed Switzerland at the very season when nature assumes her most picturesque aspect ; sublime views or smiling landscapes were constantly presented ; but she gazed on them as if her eyes were not those of an artist, and her

hands had forgotten their skill in sketching. Her imagination itself seemed torpid, for it rose to no enthusiasm before the green valley, the magnificent cascades, or even the snowy domes of Mont Blanc. Nothing could rouse her from this fatal lethargy but the approach of danger, and such an excitement was not long wanting.

Being again obliged to pass through the territory of Geneva, she now met with far less courtesy from the country people, than formerly from the citizens themselves. She had halted for a short time at a country-seat, formerly her mother's, and of course now her own. Yet the sanctity of a private dwelling was disregarded, and the house surrounded by a party of soldiers. These violent measures evidently proceeded from no pure motive, but the courage and presence of mind of the princess disconcerted all the plots of her enemies. She went alone into the midst of the armed warriors who crowded around her: many recognized her, for nearly all had seen service in the imperial armies. "Behold me," she exclaimed, "I am the daughter of Josephine—the child of Napoleon—of him who loved you so well and led you to glory. Is this the crime of which I am accused? I can never believe it. Return to your employers and thank them in my name: tell them of my gratitude for the pleasure of being again guarded by the soldiers of my father and of France." Every gesture, every word produced a magical effect on the hearts of the Genevese veterans. Respect, compassion, and admiration succeeded the low impulses of hate and revenge; until at length, wholly overcome, they fell on their knees and wept at the feet of her whom haply they had come to assassinate.

In travelling through the rest of Switzerland, Hortense encountered other obstacles and accidents of a less dramatic character; but she at length reached the territories of the Grand Duke of Baden, and once again the wanderer breathed freely, as she recollected the near connection between that sovereign and herself.

A sentiment of politeness induced Hortense to despatch a

courier to the Grand Duke, to request permission to remain in Baden : but she felt so well assured of his friendship, that a simple notice of the selection of his duchy for her future abode seemed sufficient. What was her surprise when a chamberlain arrived with a most courteous apology from his master, who found himself, unfortunately, unable to allow the intended residence in his dominions. At this period the petty princes of Germany were as much exasperated against Napoleon as the Swiss cantons, and in the same spirit they sought to gratify their vengeance by the persecution of his family. Some also, like the French municipality of Dijon, endeavored to win favor with their superiors by a gratuitous accumulation of vexations ; but it was still a most extraordinary exhibition of complaisance, to volunteer this inquisitorial rigor against a near connection. It is but just to remark that there were noble exceptions even among the minor sovereigns : for honorable and gallant men, however confined may be their rule, can never degrade themselves into police emissaries or subaltern tyrants.

The health of Hortense—long weak and precarious—had suffered severely during this sad pilgrimage. In these mountainous regions, winter had already commenced his reign, and the inclemency of the elements was thus added to the injustice of man. Not only was there an urgent necessity for stopping somewhere, in order to enjoy the advantages of constant and careful nursing, but her fatigue of body and mind became so extreme, that she was entirely unable to pursue her journey. The season of trial, however, was now fortunately approaching its conclusion. The king of Bavaria was informed of her critical situation, and immediately offered the wanderer an asylum in his dominions. Hortense had here the prospect of remaining unmolested for the future, with the additional pleasure of being near her brother, and of frequently enjoying his society. Augsburg was selected for her habitation, and she was residing in that city in 1819, when a French gentleman had the honor of an introduction. We find in his pub-



lished travels in various parts of Europe, the following account of his visit.

“Returning to France in 1819, after a long residence in Russia, I stopped at Augsburg, where the Duchess of St. Leu was then a resident. She had formerly set to music some *romances* of my composition, and I used this as a pretext for soliciting the honor of presentation. The obliging manner of her prompt answer gave additional value to the favor it conceded.

“I had hitherto only known her by report. Some Russian officers who had accompanied the Emperor Alexander to Malmaison in 1814, had spoken to me of Hortense with so much enthusiasm, that for the first few moments, it appeared as if I saw her again after a long absence, and as if I owed my kind reception to the ties of ancient friendship. Everything about her is in exact harmony with the angelic expression of her face, her conversation, demeanor, and the sweetness of her voice and disposition. When she speaks of an affecting incident, the language becomes more touching through the depth of her sensibility : she lends so much life to every scene, that the auditor becomes as a witness of the transaction. Her powers of delighting and instructing are almost magical, and her artless fascination leaves on every heart those deep traces which even time can never efface.

“She introduced me to her private circle, which consisted of the two children and their tutors—some old officers of her household—two female friends of her infancy, and that living monument of conjugal devotion, the Count Lavallette. The conversation soon became general. They questioned me about the Ukraine, where I had long resided, and Greece and Turkey, through which I had lately travelled. In return they spoke of Bavaria, St. Leu, the lake of Constance, and, by degrees, of events deriving their chief interest from the important parts played by the narrators themselves. We dined at five. I afterwards accompanied the duchess into the garden, and in the few moments then enjoyed of intimate

conversation, I saw that no past praises had ever been exaggerated. How admirable were her feelings when she recalled the death of her mother, and in her tragic recital of the death of Madame de Broc! But when she spoke of her children, her brother, her friends, and the fine arts, her whole figure seemed to glow with the ardor of her imagination; while goodness of heart was displayed in every feature, and gave additional value to her other estimable qualities. In describing her present situation, it was impossible to avoid mentioning her beloved France, the subject of her constant grief. 'You are returning,' said she, 'to your native country:' and the last word was pronounced with a heartfelt sigh. I had been an exile from my cradle, yet my own eager anxiety to revisit a birth-place scarcely remembered, enabled me to estimate her grief at the thoughts of an eternal separation. She spoke of the measures adopted for her banishment with that true resignation which mourns but never murmurs. After two hours of similar conversation, it was impossible to decide which was the most admirable — her heart, her good sense, or her imagination.

"We returned to the drawing-room at eight, where tea was served. The duchess observed that this was a habit learned in Holland: 'though you are not to suppose,' she added with a slight blush, 'that it is preserved as a remembrance of days so brilliant, but now already so distant. Tea is the drink of cold climates, and I have scarcely changed my temperature.'

"Numerous visitors came from the neighborhood, and some even from Munich. She may indeed regard this anxious attention with a feeling of proud gratification: it is based upon esteem alone, and as a tribute, is far more honorable than the tiresome adulations of sycophants while at St. Cloud or the Hague. In the course of the evening we looked through a suite of rooms, containing, besides a few masterpieces of the different schools, a large collection of precious curiosities. Many of these elegant trifles had once belonged

to her mother, and nearly every one was associated with the remembrance of some distinguished personage or celebrated event. Indeed her museum might almost be called an abridgment of contemporary history. Music was the next amusement, and the duchess sang, accompanying herself with the same correct taste which inspires her compositions. She had just finished the series of drawings intended to illustrate her collection of *romances*: how could I avoid praising that happy talent which thus personifies thought? The next day I received that beautiful collection as a remembrance. Time will render it more precious, though I have ventured to render it less rare.

“I took my leave at midnight, perhaps without even the hope of another meeting. I left her as the traveller parts from the flowers of the desert, to which he can never hope to return. But wherever time, accident, or destiny may place me, the remembrance of that day will remain indelibly imprinted, alike on my memory and my heart. It is pleasing to pay homage to the fallen greatness of one like Hortense, who joins the rare gift of talents to the charms of the tenderest sensibility.”

It will be remarked in this extract, that Hortense had found again many of the elements of happiness. Though not reunited to her husband, his feelings towards her had been greatly softened. He had conferred the greatest and most affecting favor that a mother can receive, by returning their eldest son. Thus the current of her life glided tranquilly along, in the midst of all that could console an exile. Her children were about her, and she was surrounded by friends to whom she was almost an object of adoration: these, as she was wont to say, are far greater blessings than the submission of subjects, and the pride of royalty.

The clearing of the political horizon now enabled Hortense to visit Rome and the family of Napoleon. Augsburg is no longer her place of residence; she has selected in preference a country-seat called Lindau, on the banks of the lake of

Constance, which is equivalent to saying that its environs are romantic, and its prospects magnificent. It is here that she passes the summer months.

Eugene and his consort paid her frequent visits, and upon one particular occasion, their stay was unusually prolonged. The emperor of Austria, who had contracted a third marriage with a Bavarian princess, daughter of Maximilian Joseph, came with the empress to visit his father-in-law. The ceremonial at the reception of his connections was of course regulated by German etiquette, and he hesitated in paying the like honors to the wife of Eugene, as to her sisters. No doubt the same inflexible forms would have denied to Maria Louisa the precedence due to her exalted rank; and she who was once the empress of the French and queen of Italy, now ranked at the Austrian court after the last of the arch-duchesses. The vice-queen was no sooner informed of the scruples of Francis, than she availed herself of a very simple expedient to extricate him from embarrassment, and herself from unmerited insult. She left Munich with her husband, and resided with Hortense until the departure of the emperor.

The constant attachment of this estimable princess to her husband, was proved by the violence of her grief, when he was shortly afterwards carried off suddenly by a stroke of apoplexy. The loss of a brother, so affectionate and so fondly loved, seemed to revive in the sensitive mind of Hortense all her old misfortunes. Augsburg and Munich, where she had been accustomed to see him constantly, became insupportable, and she resolved to pass her winters elsewhere. She now visits alternately Rome and Florence, always returning in summer to the banks of her favorite lake. It was at Rome, and at her country-seat of Arenenberg, that she became acquainted with an English lady of distinguished talents, who has given us the following sketch of the impressions received from her visits.

“The Duchess of St. Leu formed her principal establishment on the banks of the lake of Constance, where she was

less exposed to the hateful system of espionage, and farther removed from the bustle of the great world in which she had once reigned a queen. In this delightful retreat, she was accustomed to spend eight months of the year, passing the remainder of her time at Augsburg or Munich; but, since the death of her brother, the painful remembrances constantly awakened by those cities, have induced her to transfer her winter residence to Rome or Florence. The summer brings her back to Arenenberg, and to the cheerful company of many of her dearest friends, especially the Grand Duchess Stephanie Beauharnois, and Madame Pasquier, formerly attached to the court of Holland. The style of living of the Duchess of St. Leu is sumptuous, without that freezing etiquette so commonly met with in the great. Her household still call her *queen*, and her son *prince* Napoleon, or Louis; but this is a mere habit, preserved through respect, and allowed from friendship. The suite is composed of two ladies of honor, an equerry, and the tutor of her younger son. She has a numerous train of domestics; and it is among them that the traces are still observable of by-gone pretensions, long since abandoned by the true nobleness of their mistress. The former queen—the daughter of Napoleon—the mother of the imperial heir apparent—the relative of twenty kings—has returned quietly to private life, with the perfect grace of a voluntary sacrifice.

“The duchess receives strangers with inexpressible kindness: ever amiable and obliging, she is endowed with that charming simplicity which inspires at first sight the confidence of intimate affection. She is a good listener, and remembers all who have ever approached her: at each successive interview you appear to have made a new advance in her regard. A pointed word shows that she has not forgotten the former conversation, and you are encouraged to continue the same subject by questions expressive of interest. She speaks freely of the brilliant days of her prosperity; and history then flows so naturally from her lips, that more may be learned as a

delighted listener, than from all the false or exaggerated works so abundant everywhere. The dethroned queen considers past events from such an eminence, that nothing can interpose itself between her and the truth. This strict impartiality gives birth to that true greatness, which is a thousand times preferable to all the splendors she lost in the flower of her age.

“ I have been admitted to the intimacy of the Duchess of St. Leu, both at Rome and in the country : I have seen her roused to enthusiasm by the beauties of nature, and surrounded by the pomp of ceremony : but I have never known her less than herself, nor has the interest first inspired by her character ever been diminished by an undignified sentiment, or the slightest selfish reflection.

“ It is impossible to be a more ardent and tasteful admirer of the fine arts than the duchess. Every one has heard her beautiful *romances*, which are rendered still more touching by the soft and melodious voice of the composer. She usually sings standing, and although a finished performer on the harp and piano, she prefers the accompaniment of one of her attendant ladies. Many of her leisure hours are employed in painting : miniatures, landscapes and flowers are equally the subjects of her pencil. She declaims well — is a delightful player in comedy — acts proverbs with uncommon excellence — and I really know no one who can surpass her in every kind of needle-work.

“ The Duchess of St. Leu never was a regular beauty, but she is still a charming woman. She has the softest and most expressive blue eyes in the world, and her light flaxen hair contrasts beautifully with the dark color of her long eyelashes and eyebrows. Her complexion is fresh and of an even tint : her figure elegantly moulded : her hands and feet perfect. In fine, her whole appearance is captivating in the extreme. She speaks quickly, with rapid gestures ; and all her movements are easy and graceful. Her style of dress is rich, though she has parted with most of her jewels and precious stones. Among the remaining ornaments, I have held in my

hands the enormous chain-work, which bound the haughty standards of the Venetian republic, when they were sent by Napoleon to Paris, as a pretty present for the youthful Hortense."

### No. XVII.

#### *Rivals of Napoleon III. to the throne of France.*<sup>1</sup>

Napoleon III. wields an uncertain and precarious sceptre. No human foresight can anticipate or prevent the sudden explosion of a convulsion, by which he and his dynasty may be swept away forever. Should such an event occur, at least four prominent aspirants would be put forward by their partisans as legitimate inheritors of the sceptre which would have been wrested from the grasp of the deposed usurper. These are the Duke de Bordeaux, son of Charles X., who represents the elder Bourbonic race; the Count de Paris, son of the late Duke of Orleans, and grandson of Louis Philippe of the house of Orleans; a President, to be chosen by the Red Republican and the Socialist factions; and a mysterious and singular personage who makes pretensions higher, older, and more exclusive than any of these. We refer to the individual known as the Rev. Eleazar Williams, who claims to be the real Louis XVII., formerly the Dauphin of France; and who regards himself, in his green and vigorous old age, as the rightful possessor of the diadem which now graces the brow of Napoleon III. The claims of Mr. Williams, which assuredly possess many strange and perplexing semblances to truth, have been put forth in an elaborate and formal manner; and from time to time new facts are brought before the public which seem to confirm his pretensions. It may not be amiss to examine the subject, and present a confutation of his claims. This is one of the most remarkable and curious problems involved in the arcana of modern history, and it deserves a thorough and careful investigation.

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<sup>1</sup> The following Essay was prepared by the writer of this volume several years since; and though not originally intended for this work, it may fitly have a place in a *Napoleonic Miscellany*.

Several resolute attempts have been made, at different periods since the supposed death of Louis XVII., otherwise termed the Dauphin, to personate him, and to obtain the support of public approval in behalf of the assumptions of their authors. The first instance of this description occurred immediately after the Dauphin's death: a youth named Hervagault appeared at Chalons, in France, who represented himself as the unfortunate prince. This adventurer was the son of a tailor in the department of La Manche. As is always the case with pretenders of this kind, by addressing the spirit of credulity so powerful in the human breast, and possessing very considerable similarity of person to the son of Louis XVI., he obtained for a time many followers. He subsisted during some months on their generosity, and ran a short career of luxury and prodigality; after which, he and his groundless pretensions were quietly buried in the same oblivion.

The next impostor was a person named Bruneau, who first represented himself as the son of a French noble named Baron de Vezin. He entered the French army, and served in America until he deserted. After various vicissitudes he reached France in 1815, where he boldly set forth his claims to the character and the rights of the Dauphin. This adventurer, after producing some excitement, and gaining some adherents, was imprisoned by the government as a disturber of the public peace, after which he entirely disappeared from the notice of mankind.

The third impostor of this kind was named Neundorf, who came upon the *tapis* during the reign of Louis Philippe. He is said to have discovered his identity with the Dauphin by means of mesmeric revelations. He also possessed some striking personal resemblances to the son of Louis XVI., and obtained many adherents. Several attempts were made to assassinate him, which added to his presumed importance, and constituted the strongest argument in favor of his claims. He was banished from France in 1838, after which he remained in England till 1844, at which period he died.



Instances such as these clearly evince, how easy it is to find plausibilities and coincidences in favor of almost any claim which may be made to identity with persons supposed to be long since deceased. Many similar cases occur in history. Thus after the assassination of Paul I., the Czar of Russia, and husband of the great Catherine II., several impostors arose at different times, and with such apparently unanswerable proofs of identity with the murdered sovereign, that they succeeded in convulsing the whole Russian empire with their formidable and desperate factions.

The latest, and by far the most respectable, pretender to identity with the Dauphin, and hence to the throne of France, is the Rev. Eleazar Williams, a clergyman residing in Western New York. The arguments in his favor have been brought forward with considerable logical ability, by a clerical gentleman;<sup>1</sup> by whom the positive and circumstantial evidence in favor of the position that Mr. Williams is the lost Dauphin of France is marshalled, and commented upon, with clearness, force, and ingenuity. We propose to examine the argument which he has thus elaborated, and to endeavor to show, that the facts which he adduces are uncertain and insufficient; and that the conclusions drawn from them are illogical, and unwarranted by the evidence.

The whole discussion of this question divides itself into two separate and distinct inquiries:—First, is the evidence that the Dauphin expired in the Temple in 1795, conclusive and satisfactory? Second, if it be not; if the Dauphin escaped both from the Temple and from the grave; is the proof sufficient to warrant the assertion that Mr. Williams and the escaped Dauphin are one and the same person?

In investigating the facts connected with this argument, it is proper that a preliminary statement should be made, to which every impartial reader will accede, and that is, that no

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<sup>1</sup> Rev. J. H. Hanson, late Assistant Rector of Calvary Church, New York.

mere assertions of Mr. Williams on the one hand, or of the Prince de Joinville, his rival, who is equally interested, on the other hand, ought to be received, as logically conclusive arguments, unless they are supported by additional evidence; inasmuch as the statements of both are liable to the fatal objection, that they may be dictated by personal interest or prejudice. Solid proofs, unanswerable facts, and not mere surmises and presumptions, however plausible and ingenious they may be, ought to have weight in determining one of the most important and intricate historical enigmas ever yet propounded.

Having premised thus much, let us proceed to the examination of the evidence, as it appertains to the two points already stated.

On the 21st of January, 1794, Simon, the first jailor of the Dauphin, left the Temple, and his connection with the unfortunate Prince then ended. From that period till the 28th of July, 1794, the young prince had no particular keeper, but was supplied with bread and water by the ordinary attendants in the Temple, while he remained shut up in his dungeon, in a most pitiable and wretched condition. Now, here was a period of six months, during which, if a rescue would have been attempted by the friends of the royal family at all, it would have been most easily accomplished; for though the iron door of the apartment was bolted and barred, yet, by the use of chemical agents, especially as the door, and the child's prison, were subjected to no scrutiny, the fastenings might easily have been removed. Besides, it was during this period that the prince's room was in darkness; was never opened, ventilated, or swept; and consequently, if any substitution had been attempted or made, it would not easily have been detected. And the inference is a very fair one, that if no rescue was attempted during this long and propitious interval, by the friends of the Dauphin, they would not make the effort at any later and more unfavorable period.

Now *was* any substitution made in the person and place

of the Dauphin during this interval? The answer is, there was none. It is not even pretended that there was any. It is admitted on all hands, that on the 28th of July, 1794, when Barras became inspector of the Temple, and he first learned the horrid condition of wretchedness to which the royal child had been reduced, he obtained the appointment of Laurent as the keeper of the prince, and some amelioration of his condition immediately took place. It is conceded that, during the attendance of Laurent, the prince was seen by many persons who recognised and identified him. After some time Gomin, in heart a royalist, was appointed to assist Laurent in his duties. Some months elapsed when Laurent obtained his dismissal from his ungrateful task, and Lasne, the last of the keepers of the prince, was installed in his place. Now this same Lasne had been a soldier. He had served in the *Garde Française*, and later in the *Garde National*. In the latter body he attained the rank of captain, and had served on duty at the Tuilleries, while the royal family resided in confinement there. At that time he became familiar with the person of the Dauphin. Hence it was that he was able to recognize the young prince as soon as he became his keeper, and was also able to recall to his mind the cheering personal recollections with which it is said he diverted his captive.

Now Gomin and Lasne both testify to the identity and to the death of the Dauphin. Do they falsify; and were they accessory to his escape? For it must be admitted that, if he escaped at all, it must have been with their connivance and their knowledge. As to Lasne, he was a decided Republican, appointed to his post by the Republican interest, and it cannot be supposed that he would aid in such a measure. Gomin, on the contrary, was a concealed Royalist; he was selected as the direct agent of the *Count de Provence*, afterward Louis XVIII. — and the question arises, whether the *Count de Provence* was favorable to the escape of the prince or not? It is admitted by the advocate of Mr. Williams, that the "*Count de Provence was anxious to obtain sove-*

*reignty*," at the period of the confinement of the Dauphin, as well as ever afterward; so much so, indeed, that he subsequently *did* ascend the throne as Louis XVIII., at the first opportunity which was offered. Now though the Count proclaimed himself Regent, at the time when he proclaimed the Dauphin king as Louis XVII., yet regencies, he well knew, were dangerous and insecure. Moreover, a regency did not satisfy his ambition, and hence, as he was anxious to reign alone, the release or escape of the Dauphin would have placed an insurmountable barrier to his ambition. If, therefore, Gomin was a creature of the Count de Provence, as he undoubtedly was, his orders would have been, if he had any at all, to prevent the escape of the captive; and as his sufferings had already nearly proved fatal, and his recovery hopeless, to let him remain, and to let him quietly die. It is very justly observed by the partisan of Mr. Williams, that "the only chance for the Royalists in 1795 seemed the possession of the right of succession by a *strong* man." That strong man was the Count de Provence, and not the imbecile and dying prince. It is admitted on the other side, that the Count de Provence was a man of so little principle "that he corresponded with Robespierre himself; that he was known to have been most anxious to obtain royal power, and was naturally impatient of the intervening obstacle." Now this being the case, what possible motive had he to obtain the release of the Dauphin? The latter, it was known, was hastening to his grave; it was believed that his sufferings, if they continued, would inevitably lead to that result; and the lengthened captivity of the Dauphin would not only compass the end desired by the ambitious Count, but at the same time, would throw all the odium of the murder on the Republican party. Under these circumstances, and with such principles, it would have been the greatest possible insanity on the part of the uncle of the captive, to interfere in his condition; and it is clear that his uncle was the only person who could have interfered effectually for his release. It is probable, even,

that he would exert his influence, and employ his intrigues, to prevent his escape.

The apologist for Mr. Williams adds, "that it was only necessary that there should be the appointment of a Royalist Commissary, who would lend himself to the plot, to effect the removal of the Prince." This is doubtful; for would Lasne, an acknowledged Republican, assist this purpose? Would Tourin, the obsequious creature of the ambitious and unprincipled Count of Provence, aid in this escape? And more than all, would the Convention appoint any known Royalist as Commissary of the prison, whose jurisdiction was absolute there as its inspector? And even if the Convention would make such a singular and dangerous appointment, there is not the slightest *proof* on record, and none is adduced by our opponent, that such a Royalist Commissary ever *was* appointed. It is in the absence of all such proof, and even in the face of strong probabilities to the contrary, that the presumption is set up, that it is *probable* the escape of the Dauphin was planned and effected, and that by *somebody*, but nobody knows by whom!

But it is urged that, after the alleged death of the Prince, and when the *post mortem* examination was made by four eminent physicians appointed by the Convention, it was found that the deceased child had but two tumours, one at the wrist and the other at the knee; whereas it is alleged that the Dauphin was afflicted with tumours at all his joints, and particularly at his knees. From this discrepance it is urged that another sick child had been substituted for the Dauphin.

Now, the answer to this argument is plain. The examining physicians, in their *proces verbal*, expressly declare that they inspected the remains, and "*opened the body of the son of the deceased Louis Capet.*" Two of these physicians had attended the Dauphin during his lifetime, ever since the death of Dessault; they had attended him while Lasne had been, as he remained till the Dauphin's death, his keeper; Lasne had known the person of the Dauphin while at the

Tuilleries and before his captivity at the Temple; and thus the chain of personal recognition was kept up, without any mistake or imposition, from the residence of the Prince at the Palace of the Tuilleries, till his supposed decease. Had there been any substitution, the republican Lasne would have detected and exposed it. He would have made it known to Dumangin and Pelletan when they arrived, and these physicians would never have certified under oath, to the National Convention, that they had dissected "the body of the son of the deceased Louis Capet," had they entertained any suspicion of an imposition.

The next position of importance assumed by the advocates of the escape of the Dauphin is, that Bellanger, who was also in the pay of the Count de Provence, and was an artist, had interviews with the Dauphin; that he painted his likeness, and that he was the agent in his removal. Now, aside from the fact that there is a strong presumption in favor of the position, that the Count de Provence did not desire, and would not aid in the escape of the Dauphin, another difficulty arises in the way of this argument. They urge that Bellanger "stabbed a man in a political quarrel in France, and fled for safety, and that he carried the Dauphin with him." The improbability of this story must be apparent to every one. To effect such a purpose as the escape of the Dauphin from the Temple, in the face of a hostile and vigilant nation, required great secrecy, composure, and leisure. The condition of a man about to flee for his life, after the commission of so great a crime as murder, is surely the least propitious situation under which to effect such a purpose. But then, "Bellanger declared on his death-bed, that he had brought the Dauphin to this country." Granted: but may not this declaration of his have been made in the disordered wanderings of a failing and exhausted intellect? The last hours of expiring nature, when reason totters on her trembling throne, and deranged physical action may, by sympathy, affect the clearness of the mind — that, surely, is no situation favorable to accurate and

reliable statements on any subject. And statements made under such circumstances, are not sufficient foundations on which to base the truthfulness of great historical facts, in the absence of all other satisfactory proofs. If Bellanger made this statement, and if when made, it was a true one, he would have pointed out additional proofs; he would have produced papers, relics, and other collateral evidences, to substantiate so singular and so remarkable a disclosure. But he did neither; though the motive which would have induced him to make the statement in the first place would have also induced him to furnish the additional evidence to substantiate it, had he made it, or had it been true when made. It is a most improbable statement, for as yet there is nothing but a statement—that Bellanger would have simply revealed so vast a secret, and not referred to or produced some corroborating proof, as he easily might have done, had the statement been true.

But still further positive evidence may be adduced to establish the death of the Dauphin in the Temple, and to prove that no substitution had taken place. M. Dessault was the first physician sent by the Convention to attend the suffering Prince. He had also been the physician of the Royal family previous to their imprisonment. He therefore knew the person of the Dauphin well. His attendance on him continued after Lasne, his last personal attendant, who had also known him at the Tuilleries, was placed near him. Both of these individuals, therefore, recognised the person of the Dauphin after the six months of suspicious neglect, which immediately followed the dismissal of the brutal Simon. And Lasne and Gomin both declare that they were present with the surgeons at the last inspection of the body, and that no question then arose in the minds of any as to the identity of the remains.

The sister of the Dauphin, the Duchess d'Angoulême, who saw the corpse of her brother before its interment, describes the miserable appearance of the corpse, the sad havoc which

the disease had made in his once beautiful features, and proceeded to particularize as to his appearance. Yet, she never for one moment questions the identity of the remains. Is it possible that a sister should not have known and recognised the body of a beloved brother? Any position that would wish to force such a supposition, or that would assert, that the keen penetration of a sister's love could be imposed upon by a substitution, must be most absurd. And yet such is the dilemma to which our opponents are driven, in evading the testimony of the princess d'Angoulême. She could not recognise her own brother when dead, though only separated from him two years, during which time she had seen him on several distinct occasions!

We proceed now to the second class of arguments and facts connected with this interesting inquiry:—those which it is alleged establish the claims of Mr. Williams as being the *Dauphin* of France, or Louis XVII.

We will begin in the order of time with that argument which first served to establish the convictions of Mr. Williams himself on the subject—his famous interview with the Prince de Joinville. It is alleged by Mr. Williams that when the Prince visited the United States in 1841, he sought a meeting with Mr. Williams; stated to him that he was the son of Louis the XVI.; and wished him to abdicate his claim to the throne of France, in exchange for a splendid establishment, and the restoration of all the property which had belonged to that sovereign; and that, after the deliberation of some hours, he (Mr. Williams) refused the offer. Now, we must here apply the principle of reasoning laid down at the commencement of this argument; that the mere private statement of the interested parties should not be received as testimony;—that they are not competent and admissible proof in a case like the present; because both are liable to the influence of interest. Mr. Williams solemnly asserts that this proposal was made. The Prince de Joinville as positively asserts that such is not the fact; and that nothing of the



kind ever occurred. Here one denial balances the other; one assertion is equal, as evidence, to the other. That is to say, both are worth nothing. Hence, in examining the claims of Mr. Williams, we must throw entirely out of the question this interview, and proceed precisely as if it never occurred. No argument on either side can be based on the mere statements of either party to the dispute.

It cannot be said in answer to this position, that there is collateral proof in favor of Mr. Williams' declaration. His advocate asserts that he has convicted the Prince of falsehood in one part of his denial at least: that while the Prince declares the meeting in question to have been purely accidental, there is proof that he sought an interview with Mr. Williams. Now, in the first place the Prince does *not* say that the meeting was accidental. His language is merely as follows: "The Prince finding himself at Mackinaw, *met* on board the steamboat a passenger whose face he thinks he recognises in the portrait given in *Putnam's Monthly Magazine*." The Prince may have "met" Mr. Williams by accident, or by concert and design, so far as anything appears from the language of this letter. The Prince does not describe *how* he "met" Mr. Williams; but simply states the fact of the meeting; and it is putting a forced construction upon the language of the writer, to say that, by these words, he wished to give the idea that the meeting was purely accidental.

Nor is it true, that the advocate of Mr. Williams convicts the Prince of falsehood in any sense. For the testimony of Captain Shook and others, who were present at the interview, to show that it was sought for, does not refer to the subject of their private conversation; but they simply certify to the fact that the Prince made inquiries about Mr. Williams, and desired to see him. Now *why* did he desire an interview with Mr. Williams? The Prince was making that entire tour upon the Northern Lakes, in order to obtain historical and geographical details respecting the early French

settlements, and the Indians who had been in intercourse with the French settlers. He had learned that the most intelligent and reliable resident in all those regions was the Rev. Mr. Williams himself. He therefore desired to make his acquaintance, more than that of any other person; hence he inquired after him; and hence he "met" him. Now it is possible that, in the private interview which followed between them, the Prince may have informed the missionary that there was a very striking resemblance between his appearance and that of the elder branch of the Bourbon family, and it is possible that Mr. Williams, overcome by the mental agitation occasioned to an individual of his excessive timidity and nervousness, by the familiar intercourse of so distinguished a personage as the Prince, might, in his confusion, have *imagined* that the Prince added to that remark, that he belonged to that family; or, perhaps, that if he did not know the Dauphin to be dead, he would have supposed that Mr. Williams was he. Such *might* have been the origin of the honest delusion under which Mr. Williams rested. But it is absurd to say, that any evidence has yet been adduced to convict the Prince of falsehood, in the statements contained in his communication in reference to the famous interview.

There are other facts which render the occurrence of this alleged proposal of the Prince exceedingly improbable, aside from the fact of his positive denial of it. First of all, is it likely, that Mr. Williams would have rejected such an offer? We answer, placing equal reliance on the statement of the clergyman and the prince, — that is, throwing them both out of the question, we believe it to be the most improbable thing that was ever narrated. Mr. Williams then lived, and still lives, in one of the most dismal, cheerless, and forlorn spots on the face of the earth; his labors are great, and his comforts and means of living very small. Would he not have exchanged these deprivations for a splendid establishment, and immense wealth, in this country or in France, on any condi-

tions, not involving moral dereliction? He must have been either more or less than human, not to have done so

Again, why was it that Mr. Williams took no copy of the remarkable instrument of writing he was requested to sign? Why did he retain no marks or proofs whereby to establish the occurrence of so extraordinary an event? His neglect of this precaution would seem to be the most astounding thing on record. The answer is, in spite of Mr. Williams's delusion to the contrary, that the reality never occurred. He himself questions in his journal of that date, as well he may, whether these incidents were a "*reality or a dream.*" He himself seems doubtful as to which of these it actually was. We believe it was the latter. We believe that the excited or confused imagination of the missionary was struck with the remark, perhaps, that he closely resembled the Bourbons, or particularly the dead Dauphin; that in dwelling upon it in thought, he gradually clothed this airy nothing with a "local habitation and a name;" that the "wish then became father to the thought;" and that he at length persuaded himself, as men have done in thousands of similar instances, that what he desired or imagined, actually possessed a sober reality.

This alleged proposition of the Prince de Joinville presents itself in another aspect. It is most improbable for this reason: that the Prince is represented as having taken no precautions whatever to secure secrecy, in case his overtures should be rejected; and no precautions to prevent Mr. Williams from taking ample proof of the reality of the proposals made to him. Now the Prince expected either that Mr. Williams would accept or that he would refuse them. If he accepted the proposals, and signed away his throne, no danger or scandal would accrue from the subsequent publicity of the event. But if, on the contrary, Mr. Williams refused, and if he took any evidence of his refusal, as the facilities afforded him by the Prince's occasional absence from the room would have easily allowed him to do, if it could have been done,

then, the publication of such an interview, corroborated by such proofs, would have been at least a source of great scandal, and a cause of much anxiety to Louis Philippe, who even then sat very insecurely upon his precarious throne. How easy would it have been for Mr. Williams to have taken a copy of the proposed abdication? How easily might he have taken an impress, and a pencil fac-simile of the ancient royal seal of France, which, as he asserted, lay by him for some hours. Now the Prince could not foresee that Mr. Williams would not have had sagacity enough to secure these proofs; and, in case of his refusal to accept, to have published them. And yet the Prince, according to Mr. Williams's own statement, took no means whatever to prevent so unpleasant a contingency. Surely the Prince de Joinville never before or since acted with so little shrewdness.

In support of his assertions Mr. Williams maintains that he received several letters from the Prince, after his departure to Europe, corroborative of his statements; and that Louis Philippe, the father of the Prince, also addressed him an autograph letter of the same import. That some letters may have been received by Mr. Williams from these personages may be true. But there is no evidence as to their contents. An allusion to them is in fact positively injurious to the claim of Mr. Williams, because, contrary to all common prudence, and the ordinary conduct of rational men, he has *destroyed* those very letters, as he himself declares. Now the excuse urged by Mr. Williams for taking no copy, and for reserving no proof, of the parchment, and of the interview with the Prince—namely, the sudden hurry and agitation of the scene, and the consequent confusion of his mind—cannot be urged in excuse for destroying these only additional evidences which were subsequently, as he alleges, placed in his possession. If destroyed at all, they were destroyed deliberately, after calm reflection as to what had best be done with them. Mr. Williams doubtless concluded that their existence, if they existed at all, would operate unfavorably to his pretensions: accord-

ingly they *were* destroyed. This part of the history of the connection of the family of Louis Philippe with the case, is most conclusively prejudicial to the claims of Mr. Williams to the Dauphinship of France, in the mind of every impartial observer.

But it is said Mr. Williams recognised the portraits of Simon, and of Madame Elizabeth, the sister of Louis XVI.; and yet it is stated also, that he could not recognise the likeness of Louis XVI., his father, or of his mother, Maria Antoinette, both of which were shown him at the same time. Is it in accordance with common sense to suppose that the Dauphin, if he now lived, would, after the lapse of many years, recognise the portrait of a stranger, and not be able to recognise the portraits of his parents, whom he had seen far more frequently, and that on much more intimate and familiar terms than they? Nor is it urged that Mr. Williams, when he recognised the two former portraits, stated *whose* they were; — he merely declared that he recollected to have seen the originals. Consequently his remembrance of the portrait of the savage Simon amounts to nothing, so far as its weight as testimony is concerned. Had Mr. Williams been able to tell *whose* portrait it was, and some of the facts connected with it, his recognition might have had some value. It might indeed be true that the memory of such a countenance “had haunted Mr. Williams through life;” and yet, that countenance, which he did remember, might just as well have belonged to some semi-barbarous wretch, some half-man half-demon, in the frontier solitudes of the western world, as to the rabid and brutal French Jacobin, who tortured the unhappy Dauphin in the Temple.

The advocate of Mr. Williams, after elaborating an argument of great ingenuity in his favor, has arranged all the strong points of his case under twenty-six heads. We will re-state the substance of each of these positions, in their order, and append what we suppose to be a conclusive answer to each of them. It is said:

1. That the Prince de Joinville informed Mr. Williams, in a private interview in 1841, that he (Mr. Williams) was the Dauphin.

This assertion of Mr. Williams is denied by the Prince in the most positive manner; and as both parties are equally interested, and equally respectable, the denial of the one is paramount in weight to the assertion of the other.

2. That Louis Philippe, late King of the French, wrote to Mr. Williams with his own hand, on the subject of his royal descent.

There is no proof of this fact, because Mr. Williams has destroyed these letters, as he himself admits. Their destruction, if they ever existed, is itself an argument against him.

3. That Bellanger when dying confessed that he had brought the Dauphin to this country.

There is no evidence of this fact but a mere unsupported rumor. The dying declarations of men are sometimes very erroneous, being merely the result of the derangement of mind. Bellanger did not say that Mr. Williams was the Dauphin. He did not assert that the Dauphin was even alive at the time of his own death.

4. That the French Ambassador, Genet, acknowledged that the Dauphin was in this country in 1817.

This was but the private opinion of M. Genet; nor did he furnish any evidence whatever to those to whom he communicated this surmise, upon what he based it.

5. That Le Ray Chaumont, in dealing with the Indians, once made a remote allusion to the Dauphin.

His allusion is so very remote, that it is worth nothing; as it did not furnish any particulars, or give the least information on the subject.

6. That Col. de Ferrier, one of the body-guard of Louis XVI., lived near Mr. Williams at Oneida, and believed that a member of the family of Louis XVI. was somewhere in America, and in indigent circumstances.

If Col. de Ferrier was so near Mr. Williams, in the same neighborhood as is represented, and had known the Royal

family in France, he would inevitably have recognised the Dauphin, and proclaimed the fact of his identity. His belief that a "member of the King's family" was in this country, is too remote and indefinite an allusion to be of any weight. His *belief* might have referred to some other member, legitimate or illegitimate, of the Bourbon race. He never specified the Dauphin as the subject of his reference, which fact is itself suspicious.

7. That the Abbe de Chalonne and Bishop Chevreuse believed the Dauphin to be in this country.

We have no evidence as to the foundation of this belief. And even if its foundation has been sufficient and satisfactory, it does not designate Mr. Williams, more than a million of other persons on this continent, as being the subject of that belief.

8. That strenuous efforts have been made by members of the Roman Catholic Church to convert Mr. Williams to their faith, which are only explicable on the ground that he is more than an ordinary person.

The proselyting zeal of the Roman Catholic Church is very great under all circumstances. Mr. Williams is a respectable Protestant clergyman, and his conversion would, on that account alone, be a subject of unusual importance and interest. He would be a valuable accession; and his influence over the Indian population of Western New York would add very much to the value of his acquisition.

9. That the name of Eleazar Williams is omitted in the baptismal register at Caughnawaga where he was reared.

So are the names of hundreds of other baptized persons accidentally omitted in the United States, each one of whom would have an equal claim to Dauphinship, on that ground, with Mr. Williams.

10. Mr. Williams has none of the characteristics of the Indian race.

It is granted; and according to his own showing, he ought not to have; because his Apologist asserts himself, that Mr. Williams is of ENGLISH origin, and hence ought not to

exhibit the characteristics of an Indian. He says expressly: *the Williams family are of English origin*. It would certainly be very singular if Mr. Williams, being of English descent, should resemble the Indian race. But we cannot admit that because Mr. Williams is of English origin, that therefore he is entitled to the throne of France, or to being regarded as the son of Louis XVI., or that he is even a Frenchman.

11. That he closely resembles Louis XVIII. in his personal appearance.

Personal resemblances are of such frequent occurrence, and so ordinary in the daily observation of every one, that they are worth nothing as evidence in a case of this description. All the false claimants before Mr. Williams had the same or greater personal resemblance to the Bourbon family.

12. Various marks on his body correspond exactly with the marks on the Dauphin.

There is conflicting testimony as to what the marks on the real Dauphin actually were; whether he had swellings on all, or only on some of his joints. Mr. Williams has traces of scrofulous disease only on the knee. So have ten thousand other persons in this country, none of whom claim to be the Dauphin on that ground alone.

13. The Dauphin was omitted in the religious solemnities for the departed Bourbons, in the reign of Louis XVIII.; thus proving that he was supposed to be still alive.

Masses are not said by the Roman Catholic Church for the souls of those who die in infancy and extreme youth, as was supposed to have been the case with the Dauphin. Even if the real Dauphin was believed to be alive in 1817, that does not designate Mr. Williams to be the person; or prove him to have been regarded as such by the French Government at that time.

14. That his reputed Indian mother does not recognise him as her son.

This is simply absurd; because if she did not recognise him as her son, how could she be regarded, as she is admitted on all hands, to be, as "*his reputed mother?*" But the



objection is false: she has solemnly declared him to be her son under oath.

15. That boxes of clothing and medals of Louis XVI., were left with the child.

There is not a particle of proof of this; as Mr. Williams does not possess a solitary relic of the sort; unless he will assert, that his claim is strengthened and established by the fact, that he possesses a faded silk dress, once said to have been worn by Maria Antoinette, and given him several years since by a friend in New York.

16. That an unknown Frenchman once visited and wept over Mr. Williams in his youth, and called him *pauvre garçon*.

There is no proof of this except Mr. Williams' own faint recollection. Now Mr. Williams himself admits, that his mind, during his youth, till his fifteenth year, was a blank. Can we, therefore, place any confidence in any such vague impressions of his imbecile years?

17. That Mr. Williams' board and tuition were mysteriously paid for him at Dr. Ely's school, when his reputed father could not do it.

This was the charity of some one; hundreds of other children have received their education in the same way. If these funds came from the Bourbon family or their friends, why did they afterward desert him, and leave him unfriended during many years? This they would not have done had they once aided him.

18. Mr. Williams remembers a conversation that took place between his reputed father and Vanderhuyden, in which the fact of a French boy having been committed to the former in 1795 was asserted.

This is hearsay testimony, and is, therefore, utterly incompetent, according to every established principle of evidence. We have no means of ascertaining the credibility of the first witness, whose statements are thus brought into question in this second-hand way. *That* first witness referred to may

have been mistaken, or dishonest. Mr. Williams himself may either have forgotten or misunderstood him.

19. That Mr. Williams recognised the portraits of Simon, the cobbler, and Madame Elizabeth.

But his recognition did not amount to anything more than a statement, that he *thought* that he had seen the original before; while at the same time, he was unable to recognise the portraits of Louis XVI. and his queen. Had he known the former, he certainly would also have recognised the latter.

20. That Mr. Williams was idiotic at the age of fourteen or fifteen years as the result of his early sufferings.

This is unfortunate, because there is no evidence that the real Dauphin had lost his mind at any period, however great his bodily sufferings might have been. On the contrary, the testimony of *Lasne* is to the effect, that he retained his intellect until his death.<sup>1</sup> There have been many thousands of children idiotic till the age of fourteen or fifteen; each one of whom would have an equal claim, on that score, with Mr. Williams to the throne of Napoleon III.

21. That the Dauphin was reduced to the same condition of idiocy at the age of ten years.

We refer the reader again to the testimony of *Lasne* as contained in the work of M. A. Beauchesne,<sup>2</sup> as proof that no one about the person of the Prince ever supposed or asserted that he had become *idiotic*, at any period during his imprisonment.

22. That Mr. Williams has, since the recovery of his reason, faint dreamy remembrances of the past, corresponding with passages of the Dauphin's history.

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<sup>1</sup> The examining physicians testify in their *Process Verbal* after the post mortem examination, that the brain of the deceased Dauphin in the Temple was sound: "*Le cerveau et ces dependences etaient dans leur plus parfaits integrité.*" This proves that the intellect of the Dauphin never had been affected, as Mr. Williams represents his own to have been.

<sup>2</sup> *Louis XVII., sa vie, son agonie, sa mort, etc., par M. A. Beauchesne, Tom. II., Paris.*

In so important a case as this, we may demand some more substantial evidence than mere "dreamy remembrances." And besides, *what* are those dreamy remembrances? Are they true or false? If they corroborate history, they might be valuable as proof. If they did, they would doubtless have been already paraded before the world. The fact that they are not thus presented to public scrutiny, but kept concealed, is conclusive, that they do not harmonize with admitted facts.

23. In 1794 a decree of banishment against the Dauphin was proposed in the French Convention; as if they apprehended that the *real* Dauphin was not dead.

This proposal was made *previous to the reputed death* of the Dauphin; which event occurred in the Temple (according to our position) on the 8th of June, 1795; and therefore this proposition presents no difficulty. Had it been made *after his reputed death*, it would then have had great significance. It was on this occasion that Cambaceres, afterward second Consul with Bonaparte, declared that, "in banishing the son of Capet there would be great danger to the Republic; in his close and continued confinement, none." The Convention, after referring the proposition to a committee, decreed, that the Dauphin should not be banished, but should remain in his confinement, which continued until his death. The very fact that this proposition was discussed in the National Convention, is proof that no doubts were entertained at so short a period before the real Dauphin's death, as to whether the government still had the real son of Louis XVI. in their custody.

24. That the ecclesiastical dignitaries of France have written to Mr. Williams, making inquiries of him respecting his history.

If they believed him to be the real Dauphin, they would have been familiar with his history; and if there were anything in their letters corroborative of his pretensions, it would have been carefully proclaimed. The contents of these letters are kept as silent as the grave, and have been cautiously concealed.

25. That Liencourt was at Oneida, in New York, in 1795, under suspicious circumstances, which indicated that he had something to do with the escape of the Dauphin.

The advocate of Mr. Williams has asserted, and truly, that the only person who could possibly have brought the Prince to America was Bellanger. Now, either Bellanger brought the Prince to this country, or he did not. *If he did*, then M. Liencourt could have had nothing to do with it. If he did *not*, then Mr. Williams' advocate contradicts himself and overturns his own position; for he declares, that Bellanger alone could have brought the Dauphin to this country. The learned advocate of Mr. Williams may take either horn of the dilemma.

26. That Mr. Williams has been, for twenty-seven years, a respectable clergyman, of great worth and integrity.

This is granted; but it is admitted that Mr. Williams is a person of great simplicity of mind, who is very easily imposed upon; and whose intellect still bears some traces of his early imbecility. Such persons become the easy victims of their own and of other's delusions. There are some twenty thousand respectable clergymen in the United States, each one of whom would have a claim as strong as Mr. Williams *on that ground*, to the inheritance of the Bourbons. That is to say, they possess no claim whatever.

We have thus carefully followed the argument of the advocate of Mr. Williams through all its intricate mazes; and we arrive at the conclusion that the historical fact still remains unshaken, that the son of the unfortunate Louis XVI., the Dauphin of France, expired in the Temple in 1795, an innocent victim to the diabolical frenzy and fanaticism of the Revolutionists; and that Mr. Williams does not possess the slightest claim, under any possible future contingency, to the throne and empire of Napoleon III

## No. XVIII.

*Events of the War of 1859 in Italy.*

Louis Napoleon, after having spent several years in the tranquil administration of the affairs, both domestic and foreign, of the French Empire, came forward in the spring of 1859, to act a prominent part on the European stage, in a new sphere, and under circumstances of absorbing interest. He appeared as the bold and fearless assailant of the integrity of the ancient, colossal empire of the House of Hapsburg, and as the regenerator and deliverer of Italian independence.

Such were the professed and ostensible purposes of the war of 1859; but, perhaps, the real motives for the interference of Louis Napoleon lay deeper than the surface, and must be sought in the profounder recesses of his ambitious and far-reaching aspirations. What then were the efficient causes of the momentous events which, in the summer of 1859, agitated the continent of Europe by one of the fiercest conflicts of modern times? We answer that Louis Napoleon is emulous of the glory of that great warrior whose heir and representative he has not unworthily become. He would show the world that he is not destitute of military genius. He doubtless appreciated the truth, of which even Napoleon I. felt and conceded the supreme importance, that for a French ruler to retain his popularity permanently with the most fickle and vain-glorious nation on the earth, he must constantly renew and repeat his achievements;—if it be nothing better or greater than to gild the swelling dome of the *Invalides*. He was also compelled to find a vent for the martial ardor of a vast standing army; else that ardor might turn destructively against the very hand which called it into existence, and supported it for other and ulterior purposes.

In addition to these considerations, it is doubtless true, that Louis Napoleon wished to attain universal popularity by expelling the Austrian tyrants from Italy—from that

land over which they have ruled with such cruel rigor during the last forty years. And in this aspect of the subject, the conduct of the French emperor commends itself to every liberal and intelligent mind; for history has rarely revealed more infamous instances of despotic power and outrage, than have been perpetrated in Lombardy and Venice, since Austria has there been supreme. Napoleon also aimed, beyond a doubt, to undo the arrangements, and to reverse the decrees, of the Congress of Vienna in 1815, by which a powerful coalition against Napoleon I. stripped him forever of all his acquisitions, reduced France to smaller limits than had marked her outline during the previous century, and elevated the House of Hapsburg at the expense of France to a greater degree of power than it had ever before possessed. Napoleon III. may also seek to place his cousin, Prince Napoleon, on a newly erected throne in Central Italy. He may also desire to reëstablish the Napoleonic dynasty in the Neapolitan dominions; and to carry out all the details of the injunctions laid down in the will of his presumed uncle, the first Napoleon.

On the part of Sardinia, the ally of France in this conflict, the motives of action were of a different and a nobler character. Victor Emmanuel is a prince whose enlightened mind apprehended the real position and wants of Italy. During some years past he has administered his kingdom on principles so just and liberal as to serve as a reproof to the tyranny of the Austrian emperor in the neighboring province of Lombardy, and to produce within its limits very great discontent. Liberal ideas have been gradually diffused by the example and influence of this sovereign throughout the whole of Italy; and the ancient aspirations of the Italian people after liberty have been revived again by these means, with more than their pristine ardor and intensity. The Italian hatred toward Austria has at length become irrepressible, and has aided in producing the fierce conflict of arms which now threatens to strip Francis Joseph of every foot

of his Italian territory. But after all, the mainspring of these events is to be found in the ambition, the talents, the resources, and the far-reaching purposes of Napoleon III.

An offensive and defensive alliance having been formed between the monarchs of France and Sardinia; and the various negotiations which had passed between them and the Court of Vienna, in reference to the matters in dispute, having proved fruitless; the Austrian *ultimatum* having been sent to Turin on the 19th of April, 1859, and the period fixed by it, during which an accommodation might have been arranged, having expired on April 26th; and the Austrian monarch being assured that war was firmly resolved upon by the allies at all hazards, and that further negotiations on their part were merely designed to gain time for greater preparations; ordered General Gyulai to commence hostilities. On the 29th of that month he crossed the Ticino, and occupied the Lomellino—a rich Sardinian province lying between the Ticino, the Po, and the Sesia—with a well-appointed army of a hundred and fifty thousand men. Hostilities being thus begun, the allies hastened their movements. On the 3d of May Louis Napoleon issued the following proclamation at Paris:

“Austria, by ordering her army into the territory of Sardinia—our ally—has declared war against us. She thus violates our treaties, and menaces our frontiers.

“All the great Powers have protested against this act of aggression.

“Piedmont, having accepted the conditions, asks what can be the reason of this sudden invasion?

“’Tis because Austria has driven matters to such an extremity that her dominion must extend to the Alps, or Italy must be free to the shores of the Adriatic—for every corner of Italy which remains independent endangers the power of Austria.

“Hitherto moderation has been the rule of my conduct.

But now energy becomes my first duty. France must now *to arms*, and resolutely tell Europe, 'I wish not for conquest, but I am determined fully to maintain my national and traditional policy. I observe treaties on condition that they are not violated against me. I respect territories and the rights of neutral powers; but I boldly aver my sympathies with a people whose history is mingled with my own, and who now groan under foreign oppression.'

"France has shown her hatred of anarchy. Her will was to give me power sufficiently to reduce into subjection abettors of disorder, and incorrigible members of the old factions who were incessantly concluding compacts with our enemies. But she has not for that purpose abandoned her civilizing character. Her natural allies have always been those who desire the amelioration of the human race, and when she draws the sword, 'tis not to govern, but to free.

"The object then of this war is to restore Italy to herself, not to impose upon her a change of masters, and we shall then have upon our frontiers a friendly people who will owe to us their independence. We do not enter Italy to foment disorder, or to disturb the power of Our Holy Father, whom we replaced upon his throne, but to remove from him this foreign pressure which burdens the whole peninsula, and to help to establish order there, based upon lawful, satisfied interests. In *Italy*, then, we enter this classic ground, rendered illustrious by so many victories, to seek the footsteps of our fathers. God grant we may be worthy of them.

"I am about to place myself at the head of the army. I leave to France the empress and my son. Seconded by the experience and enlightenment of the last emperor's surviving brother, she will understand how to show herself worthy the grandeur of her mission.

"I confide them to the valor of the army which remains in France to keep watch upon our frontiers, and guard our homes.

"I confide them to the patriotism of the National Guard.



I confide them, in a word, to the entire people, who will encircle them with that affection and devotedness of which I daily receive so many proofs.

“Courage then, and union.

“Our country is about to show the world that she has not degenerated.

“Providence will bless our efforts ; for that cause is holy in the eyes of God which rests on justice, humanity, love of country, and independence.”

While France was electrified by the well-worded proclamation of her emperor, the Austrians were devastating the province of Lomellino with every possible excess of cruelty and brutality ; they passed the Po at Cambio ; they burnt the bridge over the Scrivia at Placenza ; and their vanguard reached Tronzano. Other detachments of the invaders passed the Po at Vacarizza, and cannonaded Valenza. While the Sardinian army under General Cialdini were manfully resisting the much greater masses of the Austrians, the French troops were rapidly approaching the scene of conflict. The first division began their journey on the 19th of April from Toulon. Other detachments crossed the Alps by the route of Grenoble, and by that of Chamberry. By the 14th of May sixty thousand troops of all arms had left the French territories. On the 10th of May Napoleon himself bid adieu to his capital, and commenced his journey toward Marseilles, for the purpose of embarking for Genoa. He arrived at the latter city on the 12th of May, and was received with the most ardent enthusiasm. That ancient and once opulent city assumed the joyous attire of a general holiday ; and all classes testified their exultation at the arrival of the potent magician whose powerful arm, it was supposed, would soon strike off the galling chains of Austrian domination from the fair and bleeding form of the so-long enslaved Italy, and proclaim her freedom, her unity, and her elevation to her ancient place among European nations.

Napoleon was met at Genoa by Count Cavour, the Sardinian prime-minister, by the Prince de Carignan, M. de Breur, and the Count Nigra. The emperor was accompanied by the Prince Napoleon and Marshal Vaillant, his *aides-de-camp*. Previous to his departure from France, Napoleon had appointed the Empress Eugenie Regent of the empire; giving her authority to preside over the deliberations of the Privy Council and the Council of Ministers; but not permitting her to authorize the promulgation of any *senatus consultum* or state-law, except such as were already under deliberation before the great legislative bodies of the empire.

After a delay of several days at Genoa, Louis Napoleon proceeded with his suite to Alessandria, where he arrived on the 15th of May. On the next day the French squadron under Admiral Graviere anchored before Venice. The Austrians had at this time pushed their advanced post as far as Casteggio. On the 17th Napoleon reached the headquarters of the allied armies at Occimiano, where his first interview with the heroic king, Victor Emanuel, took place. At this moment, the Austrian forces were concentrated at Garlasco; and preparations were now made by both armies for active operations on a grander scale. Immense reinforcements had been secured on both sides; and the troops which composed each of the hostile armies then numbered probably a hundred and fifty thousand men.

The first regular conflict which took place occurred on the 20th of May at Montebello—a spot already rendered famous by the heroism of the French during the triumphant progress of the first Napoleon. At eleven o'clock on that day, fifteen thousand Austrians, commanded by General Zobel, approached the position of the Piedmontese troops at Montebello. The Austrians marched in *echelon*; their right wing moving in the direction of Branduzzo, their left toward Casona, their centre on Montebello. As soon as the distant roll of musketry announced the commencement of the unequal contest between the Austrians and the Sardinian forces,

General Forey hastened with the second brigade of his division, composed of eight thousand men, for the purpose of supporting the Piedmontese cavalry; and in the execution of this purpose, he engaged the Austrians who were commanded by General Benedik, and consisted of the eighth corps. The battle which ensued was composed more particularly of a series of desperate hand to hand encounters of the most sanguinary character, and of separate assaults and charges. In the village of Montebello itself, the conflict became the most furious. Each house was the scene of a battle, and street by street was won by the French only after prodigious exertions, and with great loss of life. General Beuret was mortally wounded, at the side of General Forey. Not until half-past six in the evening were the Austrians compelled to evacuate the place. In this engagement, in which eight thousand French, supported by nine hundred Sardinians, resisted and eventually overcame sixteen thousand Austrians, unusual gallantry was displayed on both sides. An Austrian Colonel and two hundred Croats were made prisoners. The French lost about seven hundred men in killed and wounded. The total loss of the Austrians was fifteen hundred. The chief hero of this first battle between the belligerents was General Forey; whose skill and fortitude shone conspicuously during the engagement. Immediately after this struggle of six hours, the Austrians evacuated Casteggio.

Thus terminated the first conflict which occurred during this war. The Austrian bulletins endeavored to mitigate the extent of their defeat by claiming that the engagement had been indecisive in its results; but the disproportion of dead and wounded of the two armies, and the retreat of the Austrians from the field, leaving it in the possession of the Allies, unanswerably demonstrated that the real advantage had been greatly in favor of the latter. On the 21st of May, the Piedmontese commanded by General Cialdini forced the passage of the Sesia at Vercelli, and routed the Austrians who opposed them. At the same time the blockade of Venice

was established. On the 23d Garibaldi passed the Ticino at Sesto-Calende, defeated a detachment of the Austrians, and captured Varese. On the 26th Garibaldi achieved another conquest over the Austrians at Malmate; the next day he marched upon Como, routed the Austrians again at San Fermo, and at length occupied both Camerlata and Lecco.

These various minor movements were preparing the way for the second grand contest between the main armies of the belligerents, which took place at Palestro on the 31st of May. The following description of this fierce conflict, written by one who soon afterward surveyed the sanguinary scene, will furnish the reader with the most accurate and desirable details respecting it.

“I have already informed you that as soon as the Austrians had evacuated Vercelli King Victor Emmanuel moved up, with the bulk of the Piedmontese forces, from Occimiano and the other positions they held south of the Po. On Monday the bulk of the Piedmontese army, about 30,000 men, were concentrated around the town. At daybreak the King rode out of the town, with his staff, to attack the advanced guard of the Austrians. The advanced guard of the right wing had taken up strong positions at Palestro, Vinzaglio, and Casalino. Strong detachments were also posted at Confienza. The object of the attack of the Piedmontese on Monday seems to have been to drive the Austrians out of those positions which were held (I am informed) by the *corps d'armée* of General Zobel. The King had formed his troops in three corps, the brigade of the guards and the Aosta brigade formed the main column, under the orders of the King and General Cialdini, which proceeded along the road to Palestro. General Fanti attacked Vinzaglio, and General Durando marched by way of Casalino, a circuitous route, so as to outflank the enemy, and was ordered to join the King at Palestro after having carried the Austrian lines. The Piedmontese brigades were supplied with artillery, but their practice

is said to be very bad, although the coolness of the men under fire is said to be admirable. The plan was punctually carried out. Palestro, Vinzaglio, and Casalino were simultaneously attacked, and after some severe fighting the Austrians evacuated both Palestro and Casalino, but still held out at Vinzaglio, where the contest raged very severely. At Palestro and Casalino, after a sharp fire of musketry and artillery, the Piedmontese dashed forward and the Austrians slowly retreated. At Vinzaglio, on the contrary, every house was a fortress, and hand-to-hand encounters took place, not only in the narrow streets, but every inch of ground inside the houses was disputed step by step. At length reinforcements were sent to General Fanti. The King came rushing up from Palestro, at the head of the Guards, while Durando, who had just come down from Casalino, attacked the Austrian position in the rear, and its occupants were driven out literally at the point of the bayonet. They lost a few prisoners, but succeeded in carrying off their guns. The carnage on both sides is represented as something fearful."

The immediate result of this battle was the evacuation of Sardinia by the Austrians. Garibaldi attacked them at Laveno, but the disproportion of numbers against him was so great that he was defeated. On the 2d of June the advance of the Allied armies, commanded by General M'Mahou, entered Lombardy by the bridge of Turbigo. On the 3d of June Garibaldi attacked the Austrians in Varese, expelled them, and himself took possession of it. On the 4th and 5th of June, the great battle of Magenta was fought; which was more thrilling in its incidents, and more decisive in its results, than any which had yet occurred during the progress of the campaign.

On the 14th of June, the army of the Allies was ordered to cross the Ticino by bridges at Buffalora and Turbigo. The Austrians were posted on the opposite side in immense masses, to oppose their passage. A conflict ensued of three hours duration; after which the Allies effected their transit.

General M'Mahon immediately advanced with his division to Magenta, which is the first post-town in Lombardy on the road toward Milan. This is a very ancient town, having been founded by the Emperor Maximilian. It contains six thousand inhabitants. It is probable that a hundred thousand men were engaged on both sides, in this memorable conflict, The object of the Austrians, commanded by Marshal Gyulai and assisted by Baron Hess, was to obstruct and prevent the advance of the Allies toward Milan. But the ardor of the French generals and their troops to accomplish that purpose was not to be overcome, and the resistance of the Austrians at Turbigo and Buffalora produced only a temporary delay. During the conflict on the Bridge of Turbigo, the condition of the French became at one time very critical; and it was when Austrian desperation had almost won the victory, that General M'Mahon, by making a powerful and successful diversion, in an attack on the Austrians then posted at the neighboring village of Magenta, succeeded in breaking the power of their masses, and at length gained a decisive triumph. In consequence of this skilful and opportune movement, the chief glory of the victory was due to that general; and his merits were acknowledged and rewarded by Napoleon by the gift of a marshal's *baton* on the field of battle. The Allies lost three thousand in killed and wounded; the loss of the Austrians was five thousand prisoners, and about ten thousand in killed and wounded. The immediate consequences of this victory were the evacuation of Milan by the Austrian authorities and garrison; the proclamation of Victor Emmanuel as king; and the annexation of Lombardy to Sardinia. On the 7th of June the allied sovereigns entered Milan in triumph; and thus was attained, during the short period of six weeks from the opening of the campaign, one of the main purposes of the war. The victory of Magenta was rendered still more complete in its results, by the advantage subsequently gained over the Austrians by Baraguay

d'Hilliers at Melegnano on the 9th of June ; after which the Austrians evacuated Levano on the Lake Maggiore.

The 24th of June, was rendered memorable by the occurrence of the most desperate engagement of the campaign, which took place at Solferino. This was the last stand against the Allies which the Austrian generals proposed to make before crossing the Mincio ; and Francis Joseph had collected here the flower and chivalry of his army, to the number of at least two hundred thousand men. He selected his position with great skill, under the direction of General Hess ; and commanded in person. He seemed disposed to render this the decisive battle of the war ; and Louis Napoleon promptly accepted the challenge. The dawning day beheld the lines of the Austrian army drawn out in battle array over an area of eight miles in length. The conflict began at five o'clock in the morning. The Austrians were posted in the form of a crescent on a range of hills which extend a mile in length, and then break off to the left into a wide expanse of smaller eminences, which gradually decline into the plain. The battle commenced with an attack of artillery by the French upon the Austrians stationed nearest to Castiglione. The latter were soon driven from their position, and were followed by the Allies into the villages in the plain below. The first and most important of these was Solferino : there the contest was most fierce and deadly. The ground was furiously contested inch by inch, and soon became covered with the dying and the dead. Thrice was the village lost by the Austrians, and thrice did their desperate resolution regain possession of it. At length overwhelmed by the unconquerable valor and enthusiasm of the French, they fell back slowly toward the village of Volta, where they had planted their most formidable batteries. Here the contest was renewed with increased energy. Meanwhile the battle continued to rage furiously over the whole line which connected the towns of Castiglione, Solferino, and Volta. The Piedmontese fought on the extreme left of the Allied army, and

were commanded by Victor Emmanuel in person. Both sides here brought their artillery into play; and as their powerful batteries were but half a mile distant from each other, the most terrible execution was made. During the progress of the day, the uncertain tide of battle often wavered. Twice were the French driven back by the desperate onslaught of their foes; but this retrograde movement was soon reversed. Yet they suffered severely; and the first regiment of Zouaves lost an immense number of killed, being overwhelmed at one point by superior numbers. At length, after a desperate combat of sixteen hours, the whole Austrian line began slowly to recede, as the shades of night were settling down over the ensanguined scene. At nine o'clock the work of death terminated, and the Austrians were permitted leisurely to cross the Mincio in their rear. The Allies had indeed won the victory; but with such heavy losses as to render a few more such triumphs equivalent to a defeat. They retained possession of the battle-field, but were so much weakened as to be unable to pursue the retiring foe. This conflict presented a memorable illustration of the stern resistance which stubborn and mechanical discipline can make against the enterprising efforts of an intelligent and enthusiastic enemy. The French took a large number of cannon, standards and prisoners. The loss on both sides was very severe. General Niel and his *corps d'armée* performed the most distinguished exploits on that day, in contributing more effectually than any other to the attainment of the general result.

Immediately after this memorable conflict, in which the Allies lost 17,000 men in killed and wounded, and the Austrians 20,000, a proposition was made for an armistice by Napoleon, and accepted by his opponent. It was then agreed that the horrors of war should be suspended till the 15th of the ensuing August. The French Emperor had already resolved, however, to carry still further his pacific intentions; and while the Austrians were collecting their broken masses



within the celebrated quadrangular fortresses of Mantua, Peschiera, Legnano, and Verona, for the purpose of resisting to the death the further advance of the enemy, Napoleon dispatched a messenger to Francis Joseph, desiring an interview, in order to settle the terms of a general and permanent peace.

After some delay the Austrian monarch acceded to the request; and the two Emperors met on the 11th of July at Villafranca, and agreed upon an arrangement, the terms of which were as follows: Austria ceded Lombardy to France, who transferred it to the King of Sardinia; the State and city of Venice remained in the possession of Austria, though they were to become members of the Italian Confederation; that confederation was to be constructed under the honorary Presidency of the Pope; the fugitive princes of Tuscany and Modena were to resume the sovereignty of those States; and an universal amnesty was to be proclaimed.

Thus were the thrilling scenes of this sanguinary conflict suddenly brought to a peaceful termination. The alleged motive which actuated Napoleon in this unexpected turn of his policy, was the fact, that the struggle was about to assume such immense proportions, that the secondary interest which France had in its issue, did not justify the expense of blood and treasure which it would necessarily involve; while at the same time it was asserted, that the chief aim of the war had been successfully attained, and the glory of the French arms had been triumphantly vindicated.

Immediately after this event Napoleon quitted the seat of war, and arrived at Turin on the 14th of July. He embarked at Genoa, and reached the welcome portals of St. Cloud on Sunday morning, the 17th of that month. The Empress and Imperial prince, with several ladies and officers of the household, were waiting to receive him; and few moments could have been happier in the whole life of the returning conqueror, than that in which he pressed his wife and child to his bosom.

On the same day the great Ministers of state waited on him ; and several weeks afterward he re-entered his capital, after having performed the leading part in one of the most singular, brilliant, and effective campaigns which modern history records ; which indeed bears no faint resemblance to those extraordinary military successes, and those expeditious combinations of triumph, which signalized the career of the first Napoleon.









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